16 PAGES
IS 350

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2035 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

AL FAJR
# JERUSALEM
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
(USPS 606-690

APRIL 12, 1985
VOL.VI,NO.258

exp. 85/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

D

## 132 Arrested
# 400 Border Police Storm Ibrahimiyeh College

Hundreds of Israeli border police stormed al-Ibrahimiyeh College in Jerusalem April 4 and violently quelled a student demonstration in support of striking political prisoners in the Asqalan lockup. Police arrested 132 people and caused several thousands of dinars worth of damage to college property. Many students were injured and seven had to be hospitalised.

At 1:30 pm, students from the college and a few from the high school blocked roads leading to the school on the Mount of Olives with rocks and burning tyres — a common practice by demonstrators to prevent a surprise attack from border police. The students — some in the street but most inside school premises — began to chant nationalist slogans. At one point during the demonstration a Palestinian flag was raised on the rooftop of the school building. College officials then intervened and asked that all students and staff leave the premises. Within minutes, however, units of border police, mounted local police, and army — estimated by some to number as many as 400 to 500 — surrounded the school and prevented anyone from leaving.

Students and staff then retreated inside school grounds and into the building before shutting the main gate. Several students took up positions on the roof to watch police activity. College officials attempted to contact police headquarters by telephone but discovered that the lines had been cut. College administrator Nihad Abu Gharbiyeh then ventured outside, calling on the police to come forward and negotiate an end to the ordeal, but "they threw stones at me and forced me to retreat," Abu Gharbiyeh later told *Al Fajr*.

For an estimated two hours, police made a series of attempts to enter the premises but students threw stones forcing them back. At approximately 3:30 pm police and army forces attacked the building. They fired over 100 rounds of tear gas bombs into the building and entered through both front and back entrances. The doors were smashed open with axes and riddled with machine gun fire. Students, faculty, and staff — many vomiting from the gas and some unconscious — were nevertheless beaten, according to various eyewitness reports, by police who hit them with wooden clubs, dragged them through the corridors, and showered them with insults. "They spared no one," said the school doorman, whose head and shoulder were bruised.

The police then smashed most of the windows, doors, cupboards, light fixtures, and office equipment in the school. One teacher described their action as "incomprehensible savagery, as if they were jungle animals released after years of confinement."

Abu Gharbiyeh estimates the damage caused by police at over JD20,000 (US$47,200). Police officials were later quoted in the Israeli media as saying that most of the damage was done by students. Abu Gharbiyeh denied such allegations and said that students "were too busy fainting from the powerful tear gas to be able to do anything." Abu Gharbiyeh kept several tear gas canisters to show the press. The canisters were explicitly marked with instructions that they should be used only out of doors because of the high concentration of gas they contained.

After arresting everyone in the building — except 10 kindergarten children and their pregnant teacher — the police loaded everyone into army jeeps and trucks and took them to the Moscoblyya prison compound in West Jerusalem. They released Abu Gharbiyeh and several faculty members a few hours later. Everyone else, except for 21

Continued on page 13

Border police detain two of the 132 students and staff arrested in the April 4 attack on the Ibrahimiyeh College. Thirty of the detainees were women.

# Hospice Hospital Targeted for Closure

A number of Jerusalem professionals and dignitaries along with the administrative staff of Hospice Hospital in Jerusalem called on the public April 9 to help in their battle to prevent the Old City's only hospital from being closed.

The call by the Hospice Friends Committee (HFC) and medical directors of the hospital was issued at a press conference at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem. Israeli intentions to close the hospital, long rumoured, have finally proven true.

Faisal Husseini, head of the Arab Studies Centre and a member of the *ad hoc* committee, told journalists that the Israeli ministry of health has been offered a number of alternatives by the citizens of Jerusalem. One is "for the ministry of health to keep the hospital open with local charitable organizations upgrading its services," he said, "while the other is for the hospital to be taken over by the charitable organisations which will run it and upgrade it." Husseini indicated that these offers were rejected and that the ministry is still insisting on closing the institution.

In a statement distributed at the press conference, the Hospice Friends Committee questioned the motives behind the Israeli position. The committee argued that the closure is neither financial, medical, nor humanitarian. The HFC concluded that the closure will be carried out for political reasons. "The only apparent reason for the closure of the Hospice Hospital is a political measure to undermine the Arab existence in East Jerusalem," they said.

Isma'il Taziz, head of the West Bank Pharmaceutical Union and a member of the committee, explained that the hospital budget for the past year has been about US$1 million. Forty percent of the budget comes from patients. Taziz said the Israelis have budgeted to spend three to four times as much for treating the same patients in other hospitals.

In reply to a journalist's question, hospital director Dr Ahmad Muhtadi admitted that the hospital's medical services have reached a low standard but blamed this deterioration on the Israeli ministry of health. "The annual budget has been sharply reduced but the number of patients we are serving has increased," he said. For example, he pointed out that the 1984 budget was reduced by 22 percent from US$1.3 million in 1983 to US$991,000 in 1984. Hospital admissions increased from 3791 in 1983 to 6084 in 1984. The number of operations performed increased from 1353 to 1808 in the same period.

Husseini said the hospital closure would mean patients from the Old City of Jerusalem will have to travel to Israeli hospitals. Seventy-five percent of Old City residents are not covered by Israeli health insurance, meaning they will have to request help from social workers. In addition to requesting help, the patients will be confused and lost in strange surroundings. "Language, faces, food, culture, and traditions would be different to patients," a problem some Israeli officials have acknowledged as well. In fact, former Health Minister Eliezer Shostak told Hospice directors that as long as

Continued on page 13

IN THIS ISSUE

Lebanese Carry On with Suicide Attacks ..... p.2
Israelis Retaliate by Closing 23 Shops in Ramallah-Bireh.. p 3
Settlers Start Dig at Tel Rumeida ..... p.4
Lebanon/Vietnam: Scorched Earth ..... p.7
Interview With Denis Goldberg from South Africa... pp.8&9
Gaza Camps Face More Demolitions ..... p.10
Fara'a Prisoner No. 701 ..... p.16

# 18-Year-Old Lebanese Girl Carries Out Suicide Attack

An Israeli officer and one soldier were killed and two other soldiers injured April 9 by an 18-year-old Lebanese woman who carried out a suicide attack north of the village of Jezzine in south Lebanon. That attack brought the official number of Israeli soldiers killed in Lebanon since June 1982 to 649. The news that a woman had carried out the attack out of nationalist, not religious, motives, came as a shock to many Israelis who had previously believed that the attacks had been motivated by Shi'ite religious "fanaticism."

The suicide attack occurred at the Badr al-Shouf crossing point between the southern area controlled by the Israeli army and the northern area controlled by Druze militias. Sana' Muhedelli, 18, drove up behind an Israeli convoy in a Peugeot 404 mini-truck. One of the injured soldiers later told reporters that the Peugeot driven by a young girl wearing a red sweater passed the checkpost without being stopped, pulled up near an army jeep, and exploded. The eyewitness said that the driver showed no sign of nervousness.

The woman who carried out the April 9 attack and the man who was responsible for the March 11 car bombing in which 13 Israeli soldiers were killed had both videotaped statements before their operations. Both were broadcast April 9 on Lebanese and Syrian TV and replayed the next night on Israel TV. In the video, Muhedelli appeared under the emblem of the Syrian National Socialist Party calmly saying that she was undertaking her mission without hesitation and calling on south Lebanon's youth to join the Lebanese resistance movement. "Celebrate the day of my martyrdom as if it were my wedding day," she said.

In the filmed message by Wajdi Sai'd, a Greek Orthodox Christian who executed the suicide attack at the Lebanese-Israeli border last March 11, he said he was "acting to cleanse south Lebanon from the Israeli enemy."

The Israeli press came out the next day April 11 with strong attacks on the various Israeli security officials who have been trying to mislead the public.

The military correspondent of *Al Hamishmar* wrote in a front-page story April 11 that "the security officials simply 'acted' surprised about the involvement of non-religious resistance. For a long time Israeli security and political officials have known that the attacks against the Israeli army were not confined to extremist fundamentalist Shi'ites. They knew that Palestinians and Lebanese not motivated by Khomeinist ideology were behind many of the attacks."

The Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon and the question of the "security zone" north of the international boundaries has been a subject of debate in Israeli governmental circles. Israeli military officials were quoted as saying that the proposed security zone is larger than that previously under the control of Sa'ad Haddad before June 1982. Israeli officials have also indicated that they are opposed to giving any role to UNIFIL in supervising the borders. Israeli officials claim that UNIFIL has not been able to stop military attacks against Israel.

# Lebanese Premier Boycotts Cabinet Over Sidon Conflict

The Associated Press and Reuters news service reported April 10 that Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh and two Muslim members of his cabinet announced yesterday they would boycott cabinet meetings until moves are made to end 13 days of bloodshed in Sidon.

Karameh announced his decision after a three-hour cabinet session chaired by President Amin Gemayel. Fellow ministers Salim al-Hoss and Nabih Berri quickly said they would join the boycott.

Hoss, a former prime minister and the only other Sunni Muslim besides Karameh in the government, has several times mediated disputes among the Christian and Muslim members of the cabinet. Berri, a Shi'ite Muslim, had already been boycotting the meetings.

Karameh told reporters he made his decision after the cabinet listened to a report by the army command on delays in deploying extra troops to stop the fighting. "I will not attend the cabinet until all these problems are resolved," Karameh said. "My attitude is clear and frank, namely to save Sidon."

Political sources said the army was unwilling to send extra troops in, as the cabinet had decided, because it wanted a political solution to the conflict. The last time the Lebanese army was involved in sectarian fighting, in February 1984, units in Beirut split along confessional lines.

Shortly after news of the cabinet crisis spread, militiamen in Beirut traded machine gun and grenade fire along the mid-city "green line." Army troops quickly closed down three major crossings in Beirut, and radio stations said civilian traffic at the three other gateways was "very thin."

Meanwhile, sporadic shellfire in Sidon broke a ceasefire that held throughout the day April 10. The police had no immediate word on new casualties. Their latest counts show 59 people have been killed and more than 260 injured since the battles erupted March 29 between pro-Israeli Christian militiamen on the hills around Sidon and Lebanese and Palestinians in the city.

Their reports said more than half the victims were from the Palestinian refugee camps of Ain al-Hilweh and Mia Mia on the eastern edge of the city.

"I consider the Sidon issue essential for the march toward Lebanon's salvation," Karameh said following the cabinet session. Karameh said he was not resigning as head of the cabinet he formed last April 30 to try to end the nation's nearly 10-year civil war. But he indicated his resignation might become inevitable if the Sidon problem is not sorted out.

Rashid Karameh

In addition, *Al Fajr* learned that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat sent telegramme of protest to the UN and to the heads of Arab countries asking for an exerted effort to stop attacks on the Palestinian refugee camps. Arafat met with Chadhli Qûleibi, secretary-general of the Arab League, in Tunis April 7. According to the Palestine News Agency WAFA, the PLO and the Arab League agreed to intensify their efforts to help the victims of the attacks on the camps.

In his letter to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, Arafat protested the international organisation's indifference to the shelling which is causing a mass exodus from the refugee camps. The message, delivered through the PLO observer to the UN, Zuhdi Tarazi, expressed concern over the fate of the Palestinian refugees in light of continuous UN disregard of the threats facing the refugee camps in the Sidon area.

Tarazi urged the UN, and particulary the Security Council, to bear its responsibility and take the necessary measures to end the attacks.

# UNRWA Worries About Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon

Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) Olof Rydbeck expressed concern April 4 over the fate of an estimated 25,000 people displaced by fighting from Palestine refugee camps in the Sidon area of south Lebanon.

In a statement issued at his Vienna headquarters, Rydbeck said the displaced refugees, most of whom are women and children, were in many cases suffering from lack of food, blankets, and shelter.

Fighting continued throughout the week in Sidon, where UNRWA teams were giving displaced refugees emergency rations of flour, sugar, and corned beef.

A Sidon hospital treating Palestine refugees was damaged in artillery bombardment April 3 but continued to operate. UNRWA clinics in the nearby camps of Ain al-Hilweh and Mia Mia are also in operation although few refugees remain in the camps.

All UNRWA schools in Sidon are occupied by displaced families except for the schools in exposed locations.

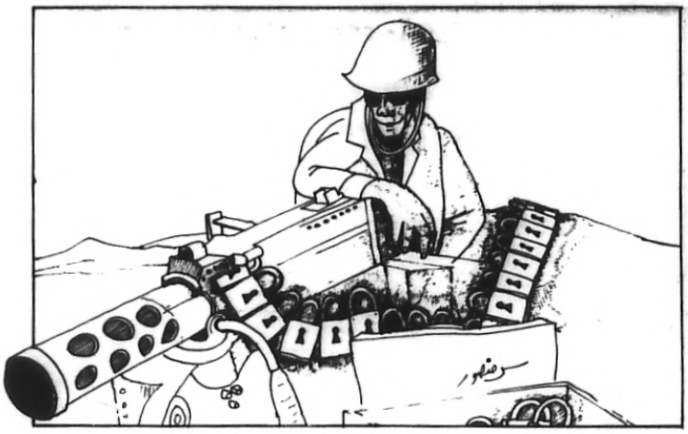
Displaced refugees are continuing to arrive in Beirut, Tripoli, and the Beqa' Valley, where UNRWA is organising emergency relief operations. Those who can are staying with relatives, causing gross overcrowding. In Shatila camp in Beirut, one house intended for 16 people is sheltering more than 100.

Palestinian woman and her two children taking refuge in a school after loosing their shack in south Lebanon.

## THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 258, April 12, 1985:

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of original articles submitted to censors | 14 |
| Number of articles totally censored out | 3 |
| Number of articles partially censored but used | 2 |
| Number of articles passed | 9 |



# 23 Ramallah Shops Ordered Shut 2 Months

Twenty-three stores in the centre of Ramallah will remain closed for two months because the Israeli occupation authorities allege that "their owners saw the shooting of the Jewish settler March 31 but refused to give police any description of the gunman."

The extended closure of the immediate area of the shooting was announced by Israeli military officials April 7 when the seven-day curfew imposed on Ramallah and neighbouring al-Bireh was lifted.

Zalman Abulnik, an employee at the Israeli-run al-Bireh municipality, was shot at close range as he was shopping in the city's vegetable market. The gunman escaped. Despite the subsequent arrest of 200 passers-by, no charges have been levied. The military spokesperson had first announced the curfew on Ramallah and al-Bireh would end April 3, but later extended it until April 7.

Business owners in the twin cities lost thousands of dinars as the forced closure coincided with the Easter holiday week. Particularly hurt were vegetable, meat, and fish retailers in and around the central market whose stock was destroyed by soldiers or left out to rot in the fracas following the shooting. Among the shops punished by the two-month closure are a pharmacy, cafe, felafel shop, butcher, plastics shop, novelty shop, and a number of wholesalers and retailers. Street vendors selling bread, fruit, and vegetables were also apparently banned from their usual places in front of the shops.

The curfew and the subsequent closure of shops and bus station were seen by residents and legal experts as a collective punishment meant to harass and penalise the population for one individual's actions.

Shopowners are considering legal action against military authorities for the two-month closure, which, they say, has no legal basis. According to Jerusalem advocate Jonathan Kuttab, the authorities cannot shut down businesses without a court injunction. Furthermore, he noted, a claim of "not cooperating with police is not a sufficient excuse to shut down peoples' businesses," Kuttab said. He had considered taking legal action against the military administration for imposing the curfew on the two cities, but the curfew was lifted before he did so. Kuttab, who is a co-director of Law in the Service of Man (LSM), the local affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, had sent a protest telegramme to Israeli government officials April 5. He argued that the curfew represented an intermittent and arbitrary application of "denial of freedom of movement in a manner which harassed the local population and prevented normal life and business."

The Head of the Ramallah Chamber of Commerce, Ibrahim Farr, told *Al Fajr* that the amount of financial damage to shopowners will vary, but he predicted that some businessmen will probably not survive. The chamber, which has only a limited amount of aid to give to the hardest-hit, will seek donations from the public for the shopowners. In a meeting with the 23 shopowners April 9 Farr drafted a strong letter of protest to Israeli officials demanding reconsideration of the two-month closure order.

# Settlers Pray at al-Aqsa

A recent report in the Israeli daily *HaAretz* said that 70 Jewish settlers from Kiryat Arba broke into the courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque back in February. The report asserts the settlers listened to a sermon from one of their *rabbis* and then left.

*HaAretz* said information about the February 6 incident came from a newsletter called *To the Top of the Mount*, published by the Temple Mount Youth Movement.

According to the report, 70 settlers — all students in the settlement and members of the youth movement — surprised police and border patrol units stationed at the entrance of al-Aqsa. The paper said the head of the Israeli police stationed at the mosque then accompanied the settlers into the courtyard. After Rabbi Dov Leor, from the Kiryat Arba *yeshiva*, spoke, the students left the mosque courtyard for the Western Wall.

The religious students indicated that they plan to return to al-Aqsa Mosque in the future, said the report, and that they hope the *rabbi*'s religious lecture would encourage other settler groups to follow suit.

Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami, head of the Islamic Council, told *Al Fajr* that the settler break-in occurred while he was out of the country. Alami said the settlers entered through the Magharbeh gate, which is controlled by Israeli border patrols. He said the mosque's own police had then routed the settlers. "They entered just inside the gate, spoke a little and when our police approached them, they left," said Alami.

Since the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in 1967, fundamentalist Jewish groups have made numerous attempts to occupy and destroy al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. One of the better known groups is the Temple Mount Faithful, led by Gershon Solomon. This group has received aid from a number of Orthodox Jewish groups, as well as from certain fundamentalist Christians in the US.

# Ex-Jnaid Prisoner Dies of Cancer in Amman

Ex-prisoner Mahmoud Freitekh died April 6 in an Amman hospital from intestinal cancer only six weeks after being released from Jnaid prison in Nablus where he was serving a 20-year sentence. Freitekh's body will be brought back from Amman to his family home in Nablus for burial. Military authorities had at first refused to allow the transfer of the body from Jordan to the West Bank but later relented after legal appeals were made by advocate Walid Fahoum. The military set several conditions on the transfer: the body was to be sent to Nablus' police station where police would release it to the family in late evening just prior to the funeral, due to take place April 10. The Israeli military authorities ordered the funeral to be limited to 20 immediate relatives.

The authorities released Freitekh February 18 after he had served eight years of his sentence; prison doctors had concluded that his cancer was terminal and inoperable and had not given him alternative medical treatment. He was arrested in 1978 and charged with a military operation and membership in the Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

By the time Freitekh was transferred from prison to Maqassed Hospital last February, his cancer had spread to other organs and was affecting his nervous system. Doctors gave him only a few days to live. His family took him to hospital in Jordan in a desperate attempt to save his life.

Freitekh's three brothers — Ahmad, Khader, and Suleiman — and two sisters — Fatima and Halima — are all political prisoners, currently serving sentences in Nablus' Jnaid prison and Ramleh's Neve Tertza prison for women.

# Asqalan Prisoners End Strike

Palestinian political prisoners at the Asqalan jail called off their partial hunger strike and other protest activities April 5 after the prison administration agreed to meet most of their demands. However, the main demand of relieving the overcrowding has not yet been met.

The 41-day protest came to an end after prison authorities agreed to provide hot and cold water immediately, to increase the maximum of purchases allowed from the prison canteen, to stock the canteen with a greater variety of items, to increase in number and size personal letters from relatives actually given to the prisoners, to give prisoners access to television, to provide chairs and tables for daily meals, and to permit them to receive underwear and medicine from their families. The prison officials also promised to send psychiatric specialists to visit the mentally ill prisoners, and to consider placing them in a separate section. The authorities also agreed to study the possibility of releasing those in poor physical condition.

Gaza lawyers Fayez Abu Ramleh and Raji Sorani, along with the Gaza Red Cross representative, met with the prisoners' committee at Asqalan April 5. The committee gave the lawyers a statement detailing their reasons for ending the strike and praising the efforts of all those who protested in solidarity with them. The statement said, *inter alia*: "Today after we have made our voice heard through the joint efforts of strike and protests. We have received positive replies to some of our requests and thus have agreed to cease all means of protest in the hopes that this will contribute to an overall awakening of the prison administration to our needs so that they will remove the reasons which caused us to declare the strike to begin with."

The prisoners' committee — consisting of Khaled Tantash, Khader Awesat, Abd al-Rahim Baghdadi, Abd al-Halim Kassab, and Ghazal Abu Jiab — sent two representatives April 5 to a meeting with Jerusalem lawyer Abed Assali. The committee asked Assali to relay the prisoners' thanks to the individuals and institutes that supported them in their struggle. The prisoners also requested that Israeli Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev release the tens of arrested students from Ibrahimiya College in Jerusalem who were detained April 5 because of their show of solidarity with the prisoners.

The newly-appointed head of the Israeli Prison Authority, Rafael Suissa, replied to the prisoners in a speech April 4 at a graduation ceremony for new prison guards. He said he intended to improve services in all prisons but the striking Asqalan prisoners would be the last to get any "privileges." Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev, who was also present at the ceremony, told reporters he understood a number of the prisoners' demands but would not comply with all of them.

The 500 Palestinian political prisoners at the Asqalan lockup declared a partial hunger strike February 22 demanding the improvements. The prisoners threatened April 3 to escalate to a full hunger strike on April 8 if their demands were not met.

Israeli youth from the right-wing Herut movement lead a demonstration through the streets of Hebron April 9 under the protection of an Israeli army patrol.

# Settlers Demand Expansion to the East

"There are two banks of the Jordan River. This one is ours and the other is too," chanted more than 150 Israeli settlers as they marched through the streets of Hebron on April 9. An Israeli border patrol jeep drove at the head of the procession, followed by a cabinet minister and senior officials in both the Likud and Labour Party.

The settlers trooped down the main streets of the Arab city of Hebron (population 70,000) after attending a ceremony in front of Hebron's Ibrahimi Mosque to celebrate the opening of a Herut Party (Betar) youth movement office in the downtown Tel Rumeida settlement.

Israeli border guards barred the settlers from reaching Tel Rumeida by declaring the area a closed military zone. A number of Israeli reports, however, pointed out that Kiryat Arba's Rabbi Moshe Levinger and a number of his supporters were successful in reaching the knoll-top site despite the army declarations. *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the caravans parked outside Tel Rumeida are already equipped with a desk, several chairs, and two telephones.

In the rally former Israeli Defence Minister, now minister without portfolio, Moshe Arens called for the expansion of the Israeli presence in Hebron. The head of the settlement division in the World Zionist Organisation, Matityahu Drobless, said, "We will stay here forever and we will transform Tel Rumeida to a hill of education and not an archaeological hill." The military governor in Hebron forbade civilian settlement in Tel Rumeida by saying that construction is not allowed on an archaeological site.

Mustafa Natshe, the deposed acting mayor of Hebron, denounced the settlers' actions. He told *Al Fajr* that "this extremist demonstration shows the bad intentions against the Arab residents of those who planned and executed it." Natshe said that such actions will not help solve the problems of this area. To the contrary, they will only exacerbate the tense atmosphere. The military-deposed mayor called for an immediate stop to actions against the Arab residents of the occupied territories.

Israeli newspapers reported that a meeting took place in the village of HaMaccabi under the slogan "Greater Israel" between activists in Likud, Mafdal, and Morasha. Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon reportedly said in the meeting, "We should not leave any concentration of Arabs without surrounding it with Jewish settlements."

Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who attended the meeting, said that he rejects the principle of exchanging land for peace. Former Israeli chief of staff and Knesset member Rafael Eitan, from the ultra-right wing Tsomet/Tehiya Party, called for the establishment of 20 settlements in response to the killing of an Israeli soldier in the West Bank last week.

# Progressive Parties Sweep Haifa Univ. Elections

The Democratic Student Alliance at Haifa University won 25 out of 35 seats on the student council in the April 4 elections. Three Arab students are members in the new council.

The election results brought the eight-year domination of right-wing student factions over the council to an end and marked a clear victory for progressive and Arab student blocs. The winning list included student representatives of the Labour Party, the Citizens' Rights Movement (CRM), Mapam, Sheli, and the Arab Students Committee. The losing list included the student branches of Likud and Tehiya. The election victory also means the recognition by the Student Council of the Arab Students Committee as the representative of Arabs enrolled at the university. The Arab Students Committee had signed an agreement with the Democratic Student Alliance calling for this recognition. The agreement stipulated that Arab students would be represented in two major subcommittees — internal affairs and supervision of activities — in a ratio of 1:3. The agreement also means coordination with the Arab Students Committee regarding any matter that deals with or affects Arab students.

According to the Communist daily *Al Ittihad*, one of the reasons for the turnaround was the higher than average participation of students in elections. According to *Al Ittihad*, the number of Arab students voting doubled from last year and the percent of Jewish students voting increased to 33 percent from last year's 10 percent.

Ja'far Farrah, a member of the Arab Students Committee at Haifa, told *Al Fajr* that the election victory completes the defeat of the right-wingers in all Israeli universities. Progressive lists were voted in at Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Beer Sheba Universities last year. Farrah said that the victory "will clear the air for political discussions and allow students to enjoy freedom of expression." In the past, he added, elements in the university administration and the police have taken advantage of the control of right-wing students in order to suppress progressive and Arab students from expressing their political views.

Regarding the recognition of the Arab Students Committee, Farrah said that the details are currently being negotiated. He said he hopes that this would lead to official university recognition of the Arab Students Committee as representative of the Arab students at the school.

Farrah also hoped that the new student council would join the battle for the release of Amir Makhoul, head of the Arab Students Committee who has been in jail for the last month, and that it would also press for an inquiry into the events that occurred on campus last March 14, when police raided and violently dispersed a peaceful sit-in strike by Arab students.

# Israeli Military Courts Toughest in 1984

Israeli military courts imposed a greater number of harsh sentences on Palestinians in 1984 than in any previous year since the 1967 occupation, according to a report compiled by Agence France Press (AFP) and published in local newspapers April 11.

The military convicted 5226 West Bank and Gaza residents in 1984 as compared to 3339 the year before, an increase of 64 percent. A sentence of one-year imprisonment was handed down in 989 cases last year as compared to 672 in 1983. The military also detained, but did not prosecute, some 471 Palestinians in 1984 as compared to 172 in 1983.

Harsher sentences for stone-throwing youths have also become the trend in military courts, where perpetrators now receive sentences ranging from one to two years in prison, compared to two to six months in 1983.

The AFP report quoted Israeli advocate Felicia Langer as suggesting that the increase in conviction rate and in harsher sentences is due to the tense climate created by Jewish settlers in the occupied territories who also pressure the government into restricting local residents in order to clear the way for increased settlement activities. Settler groups have frequently called on the Israeli government to impose stiff sentences on stone-throwers and anti-occupation demonstrators. They have even suggested deporting the youths. On March 31 the Regional Settlement Council for the West Bank and Gaza met with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and demanded that his government impose heavy punishment on local residents, including the expulsion of all Palestinians who resist the occupation. The meeting was held in the wake of the slaying of Israeli settler Zalman Abulnik in a Ramallah market the same day.

Lea Tsemel, another Israeli advocate who often defends Palestinians in the military courts, told the AFP that the harsh policy in the courts had forced her clients not to plead guilty and to use all possible legal means to acquit her clients. "While it was possible in the past to plea bargain, it has become impossible now," she said.

The Israeli military courts are also gradually replacing local Palestinian civil courts in dealing with criminal cases, thus contradicting international laws governing the activities of a belligerent occupier. According to a spokesperson from Law in the Service of Man — the local affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists — military courts have even ruled in cases of traffic violations, unlicensed building and drug trafficking. Local courts are responsible for such cases under Jordanian law. Several amendments to the existing laws by the military through the use of military orders have altered these laws in the interest of the occupation, the report added.

The AFP report concluded that most Palestinians convicted on security charges are tried on the basis of confessions obtained during interrogation. Langer added that often confessions are extracted under pressure. She said this pressure is very common in interrogation sessions and that Israeli courts almost always reject lawyers' requests to investigate the accuracy of confessions or the manner in which they were obtained.

The Dawn
**AL FAJR**

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630) is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

# Keep the Hospice Open

The Israeli Ministry of Health informed the Jerusalem "Hospice" Hospital director of its intention to close the hospital this week and hand over the building to the original owners — the Austrian Church. It was a step the community had long expected and had fought against in every possible way. Both medical and financial excuses were used by the Israeli government as being the reasons behind the closure of the only government-run hospital within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem and serving solely the Arab population of Jerusalem, especially its elderly and poor. However the Israeli government itself has been responsible for the deterioration of the hospital premises and services over the last 18 years of occupation. The number of hospital beds were reduced gradually from 120 to 50. Its operating budget was decreased by 22 percent in one year, personnel reduced by one-third, and departments closed, one by one.

The Israelis claim that patients who would have gone to the Hospice could be treated in the better-equipped and staffed Israeli Hadassah Hospital as a gesture of their humanitarian attitude towards the Arab patients.

Arab residents of Jerusalem know that the Israeli objective is not one of financial savings — since the Palestinian community is willing to fund and run it if they were permitted. Nor is the reason a medical one, because it is the very same Israeli Ministry of Health that has been in charge of running the hospital for the last two decades which wants to close it for "poor standards." Jerusalem residents know that only political reasons are behind the closure. The Israelis want to push the Arab residents of Jerusalem to depend on Israeli health institutions: one more step towards consolidating their forceful annexation of Arab Jerusalem and destroying Palestinian self-sufficiency.

The Hospice Hospital must remain open. It is a right that the Arab residents of Jerusalem will not abandon.

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS. . . . . .

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .

DATE. . . . . .

SIGNED . . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

# Jordan's Foreign Minister Speaks to Press in Washington

Taher al-Masri

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

While in Washington, before his second meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz Jordan's Foreign Minister Taher al-Masri met members of the Arab press corps and answered questions on a variety of subjects including the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. Following are highlights from the impromptu session.

Concerning his discussions regarding proposed members to a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to any future negotiations, al-Masri said he believes that "any such list of names must come from the PLO or it has to be approved by the PLO," though, he continued, "we didn't discuss this issue at all." Jordan, he said, wants a meeting between the US and a Jordanian-Palestinian team, meaning PLO. He added, "Whatever the PLO agrees with, we do also." The decision belongs to the PLO, he said.

About his first meeting with Shultz, the Jordanian foreign minister said they exchanged views on the current situation without reaching specific conclusions. "And that is why we are meeting today," he said. Al-Masri added that the American government considers the agreement between Jordan and the PLO very important and in the right direction. He said they feel it should be encouraged.

Concerning the conditions being placed on Jordan to qualify for American aid, al-Masri said this is not the first time this has happened. A committee of Congresspersons voted against granting Jordan US$120 million in aid unless Jordan recognises Israel and enters into direct talks with it. Al-Masri believes, however, that the American administration is in favour of granting Jordan aid, and that Jordan will eventually get it.

Al-Masri said the Americans have been requesting direct negotiations with Israel, without PLO participation, for a long time. He said there is an American retreat from the Reagan plan and that the US does not now see a role for themselves in the new course of things. So they continue to call for direct negotiations. "What we sense from Shultz is that they don't want to get involved," he said. Al-Masri also confirmed that King Hussein will be visiting Washington but that the date has not been set yet. The visit will most likely come after the visit of Algerian President Shadli Ben Jedid now scheduled for mid-April.

Al-Masri said the American position on an international peace conference as called for by the Amman agreement has not changed, and they are still against it. Asked if there was any prior understanding by the Jordanian authorities that the US would accept a PLO role if the PLO accepted a plan such as agreed upon in Amman, the minister denied any such understanding. He then added that "we do not adopt a position only so that the US will accept it." He added, "We do not formulate policy so as to please the US."

Al-Masri said that though he proposed to Shultz that the US "announce its acceptance of the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people," the Americans read this as the right of Palestinians to an independent state, and thus continue to reject it. Jordan, he continued, then proposed the idea of confederation with the Palestinians, as agreed upon by the Amman document.

The Jordanian foreign minister said the US may want more Arab concessions, such as PLO recognition of UN resolution 242 and Israel's right to exist. Concerning confederation he said that when the Jordanians talked with the PLO, they proposed an independent state, "But that is impossible. Nobody accepts an independent state. Then we came up with the idea of the confederacy, and now when the US says that they will not accept an independent state, we tell them that there is not going to be one in the confederation."

> There is an American retreat from the Reagan plan and that the US does not now see a role for themselves in the new course of things. So they continue to call for direct negotiations.

Al-Masri said a unified Arab stand would definitely improve the Arab condition. The meeting in Riyadh will do that, he said, if it produces even the semblance of a unified Arab position. He said that the objectives of the Murphy trip due to take place in the region are not clear yet. He said the trip may be intended to only maintain momentum, although Murphy may present some specific ideas. "The purpose, as we see it, should be for the US to recognise the PLO," or whatever the PLO wants, he said. The problem is that everybody has the same stand regarding the PLO: no one wants to deal with it, he said.

Asked again about the foreign minister's definition of confederacy — especially since Hassan Abd al-Rahman told the Arab press recently that the PLO correctly defines it as between independent states — he replied, "I don't want to disagree with the director of the PIO in Washington about this issue." In Amman, he continued, "We agreed that confederation is between two entities. Each has its own rights, such as parliament, cabinet, etc. But the foreign affairs are to be in the hands of the central authority." This, he added, has to apply to Jordan as well, "and I don't know why we are disagreeing on these technicalities." The more important objective is to focus on the occupation, he said, "and when we get rid of the occupation, we can disagree." The Jordanian foreign minister concluded by saying that Jordan will not enter into any negotiations alone on behalf of the Palestinians. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

**Israeli settlers have become very 'stone sensitive,' particularly so on Palestinian national days such as Land Day. It is a theme eagerly picked up by Israeli journalists who, at the same time, feign an antagonistic relationship with the settlers. Yaron Avitov and Yoram Binur wrote this mixed report for *Kol Ha'ir*, excerpted below.**

# 'Celebrating' Land Day

**RIGHT: Abd al-Nabi, *mukhtar* of Sa'ir, rolls a cigarette and awaits his turn in a card game in the village centre. LEFT: Yosef from America – dubbed "the local Levinger" – tells the Israeli media: "My name and political outlook are none of your concern."**

### Motti Goldstein, Carmel

One of the stones thrown in Yatta hit Motti Goldstein's windshield. Goldstein is the agricultural supervisor of Carmel, a nearby settlement built on land expropriated from the residents of Yatta. At present there aren't any plans underway to twin the two townships [meaning to annex Yatta to Carmel – ed].

"The stone thrown at me could have killed me," said Goldstein. "It's no different than an attempted murder. There have been plenty of stone-throwing incidents in Yatta. They throw stones at us every morning on our way to work. They deserve stiff penalties: homes should be sealed and deportations ought to be used."

**Q: "What do you think makes them throw stones?"**

A: "The number of aggrieved people who throw stones is small. Most of the stone-throwers are riff-raff, small kids who haven't lost any land themselves. Those who have lost land are usually old Arabs and they neither throw stones nor participate in demonstrations. They want to keep the peace so as to continue working their land. I have a great deal of respect for those *fellahin*. They work their land and they don't make a fuss. I'm an ambulance driver and have on occasion rushed Arab peasant women to the hospital when they were about to give birth. One time I took a kid to the hospital after he was bitten by a snake. They were created in God's image and I have a great deal of respect for them as fellow human beings."

Goldstein talks about the Arabs as human beings, not as political beings. Minister Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz adopted a similar approach when he suggested turning Land Day [*yom ha'adama* in Hebrew] into Man Day [*yom ha'adam*]. During our conversation Goldstein reiterated again and again that he too was "a *fellah*." He said that "there is no difference between an Arab peasant and a Jewish peasant. Both live on the fruit of the land."

Goldstein's cheeks have a purple tinge, his hands are calloused, he dresses in blue work clothes, and his shoes are full of mud. Pointing to them he remarked, "Do you see that? That's Land Day!"

### Ron Zucker, Carmel

"We celebrate Land Day every day of the year," said Ron Zucker, the secretary of the settlement. "We celebrate the fact that we're engaged in working the land. For us it's a way of life, but for them it's only an excuse to throw stones and politic." Zucker himself is an old hand at politics. He knows how to talk to journalists and even handles interviewers with a certain charm. "I don't like using the expression 'you journalists,' but you journalists have blown Land Day out of proportion and turned it into a big event. Land Day is a media event, that's what it is. They start churning out articles two weeks in advance and thus remind the Arabs about the whole thing. If you people wouldn't stir up such a ruckus, the whole thing would probably go unnoticed. Thanks a lot for not letting anybody 'forget about' Land Day," Zucker concluded cynically.

**Q: "Are the journalists also responsible for your being pelted with stones?"**

A: "The Arabs have to live up to the journalists' expectations. They've been given a role – whether it's stone-throwing or setting tyres on fire – and they have to rise to the challenge. The newspapers start writing about it two weeks in advance and three days afterwards they're still writing up their conclusions. On Land Day itself the radio reporters keep everyone informed about what's going on from dawn to dusk. 'Our correspondents report relative calm. A stone was thrown in Ramallah and a stone-and-a-half in Bir Gafgafa.' If you were serious you'd write about the archaeological site in Sussia [a settlement south of Hebron – ed]. It's a historic Jewish site and the Jews could organise a couple of Land Days in protest of the theft of artifacts from the site by Arabs."

**Q: "Are you living on Jewish land?"**

A: "During Mishnaic and Talmudic times [500 AD – tr] this was a Jewish area. We have no doubts about the history of the place. The ties that bind the Jewish people to this area are beyond dispute. This area has strong ties to the Jewish people; I mean, the Jewish people have strong ties to this area. We are realising a great prophetic vision here."

**Q: "I don't seem to remember prophecies about expropriations..."**

A: "Who told you we expropriated land? The people in Yatta are always putting one over on journalists. But let me give you a real scoop: Yatta was built on land expropriated from Jews. Go ahead and find the maps and documents.

"Do you really think that the Jewish Agency would settle us on Arab land? This is Jewish land and our claim on it goes back to the time of King David."

**Q: "So who expropriated whom?"**

A: "We're against expropriations. It's a matter of principle with us. Our settlement was established on a stony hilltop. We travel to our fields in the Arad Valley – a two-hour trip – every day in order not to disturb the Arabs. There's no expropriation going on here. Of course, certain stony areas may have been *declared* state land, but that's something else."

Throughout our conversation Zucker used the word *declaration* [of state land] in place of *expropriation*. Expropriation isn't good for Gush Emunim's image. When we confronted him with this he threatened us lightheartedly, saying that he would write castigatory letters to the newspaper.

### The Mukhtar of Sa'ir

We saw a lot of piles of stones on the side of the road on our way to Sa'ir. Land Day was only a few days away. A lot of the village's land has been expropriated over the past two years. Driving into the central square of Sa'ir, the village presented its wretched visage: children in torn shoes, adults in shabby clothes. Half the village accompanied us on our way to the *mukhtar*. Journalists

*Continued on page 13*

## Neturei Karta Favours Democracy, Not Theocracy

**To the Editor,**

In the March 29 edition of the *Al Fajr* English edition, I noticed a letter to the editor from one of your readers in Bremen, West Germany. After studying the content of the letter, I realised that the reader is not "getting the message" of the Neturei Karta. It appears that the letter writer concluded that the Neturei Karta advocate a theocracy, based on a Biblical judicial system. If so, he is fundamentally in error. The indigenous Jewish settlers of Palestine, from whence the Neturei Karta developed, have always advocated a government in Palestine, chosen by the indigenous Palestinian population, and have neglected any political aspirations.

Can the Israeli-Zionists, who caused the Palestinian holocaust and great tragedy to the Jewish nation, both directly and indirectly, and who are continuing their unholy ways, can they be counted on to settle a conflict for which they are directly to blame? Does the reader actually believe that by aligning with a band of thieves, one can fight crime? The Orthodox Jewish population during the period of the British mandate were in the majority until the Zionists superceded them in numbers by course of uncouth methods and undemocratic means. Can these traitors to the Jewish cause be enlisted to assist the Palestinian cause to establish a democratic Palestinian state?

The Neturei Karta have time and again reiterated their stand that the Jewish nation is charged by Divine order not to "step on the toes" of the indigenous Palestinian residents, let alone to dominate them, but rather to accept the rule chosen by then. We therefore find it imprudent and impractical to call upon those [Zionists], who rebelled against their G-d and their people, to assist the Palestinian people to realise their goals. If the Palestinian people are to obtain their just rights to establish their Palestinian entity, it is only common sense not to include the Israeli-Zionist camp in their plans, since they can only serve as obstacles and impediments in the realisation of the former's ambitions.

*Al Fajr* stands for objectivity and reasonability. Keep up the good work.

**Rabbi Moshe Hirsch**
**Spokesperson, Neturei Karta**
**Jerusalem, Palestine**
**P.O. Box 5053**

# Lebanon : Vietnam

# Scorching the Earth

by Oded Lipshitz

We were sitting in a pub in Eilat, drinking beer and shooting the breeze. An American tourist in his mid-thirties by the name of Johnny asked us about Lebanon. "It's your Vietnam," he said. "You better get out of there fast."

We watched the sun go down, drank a few more beers, and Johnny's tongue began to loosen up; he started reminiscing about his stint with the Marines in Vietnam. We just sat there and listened.

"Every war has its own paradigmatic atrocity," said Johnny. "In Vietnam it was Mai Lai — the village where the Marines carried out a massacre; in Lebanon it was Sabra and Shatila. But there are a lot of stories you don't hear. I was a combat medic in Vietnam, so believe me, I know what I'm talking about. Once the Viet Cong ambushed a convoy in one of our combat zones. Twelve soldiers were killed and there were twice as many wounded. The next day we entered a village they controlled. Although the operation had been planned in advance of the ambush, the soldiers' desire for revenge made it even more brutal than similar operations I had participated in up to then. The plan was to enter Shon Lon. Now Shon Lon was larger than a village but smaller than a town. Anyway, that night we marched through the jungle to the outskirts of the village. The whole regiment was involved in the operation. It was a 12-kilometre march and we didn't reach the village 'til 5:00 am.

"I was carrying a heavy knapsack and was so tired by the time we arrived at the outskirts of Shon Lon that I just fell asleep. A few minutes later I woke up to the sound of gunfire coming from the other side of the village; it was another US army regiment. Our commander ordered us down the ravine and up into the village. With my knapsack I was an easy target, all the same, I didn't really give a damn about being shot. What bugged me was the idea of dying for nothing in a Vietnamese village on the other side of the ocean, and in an area controlled by the Viet Cong to boot. Our snipers were firing over our heads, the tanks were shelling the houses a few metres in front of us, and the village was going up in flames.

## Kill the Wounded

"We made our way into the village and joined up with our regimental commander. We passed a truck that had been hit by one of our shells. It had been carrying vegetables, but by the time we got there the vegetables were scattered all around and the cab had been gutted. There were two dead bodies there: Viet Cong, or at least that's what we were told. There was also a guy who had been wounded. We wanted to treat him but our RC [regimental commander] ordered us away and told one of the unit commanders to shoot him. I was totally floored. I thought about what could happen if we fell into enemy hands... I believe that the wounded should be provided with medical treatment regardless of what they were doing the second before they were wounded. I started yelling but the other soldiers just laughed. One of them said, 'Look — he's a corpse.' I wanted to punch him in the face. All the while people were running back and forth. There was a lot of shooting going on and we saw a few more corpses — the work of our snipers — as we made our way toward the centre of the village where the regimental officers had set up their headquarters.

> "In Vietnam it was Mai Lai - the village where the Marines carried out a massacre; in Lebanon it was Sabra and Shatila."

"The shooting didn't let up and I saw a lot of people being captured. The soldiers put black bags over their heads to prevent them from seeing what was going on. Everyone in our regiment had a set of plastic handcuffs and they were being used on the prisoners. I also saw soldiers carrying away captured weaponry: new RPGs in plastic bags — straight from the factory in Russia — and plenty of kalashnikovs. There were dead people all over and a hell of a lot of wounded. But we weren't allowed to treat them. I suppose they just died."

I asked Johnny if perhaps someone else had provided them with medical treatment later.

"No, I know what happened. There was a small Buddhist temple in the middle of the village; our interrogators used it for interrogating suspects. They rounded up all the suspects and brought them to the village square. The wounded too. The chief medical officer and a few medics treated some of them, but a lot of them were dragged off by the interrogators. Some of them were beaten, others were tortured; there were even cases in which the interrogators stabbed them with their infusion needles.

"The medics tried to tend to the wounded but it was tough going. Some of them died while receiving first aid. There was an old woman who had been shot in her chest and in her hand. I don't know how it happened, whether she tried to run away or what, but I just can't see how she could have done anything to warrant shooting her. We treated her and when we were done she was taken to the village square. There was also an 8-year-old kid with a bullet in his chest and another lodged in his hand. We didn't have the equipment to deal with him, and all we could do was bandage him up and give him a shot of penicillin. His mother and one of her friends turned up and the three of them were taken to the village square."

## Homes Demolished

"All the while soldiers were uncovering weapons; there was a constant stream. At the end of the day an army truck came along and took it all away. Jut like the Israeli army in Lebanon. Houses were being demolished — I don't know how many, maybe 10, maybe more. You see, at first, we would only demolish homes in which we found something, but if we had used that criteria in Shon Lon, we would have had to demolish almost every home in the village.

"There was a steady stream of suspects, all of them with black hoods over their heads and handcuffs around their wrists. There were also old people among the suspects. When we arrived at the village square we saw all of them grouped together and the interrogators milling around. They were using one of the houses as a base of operations and one interrogator was sitting in front of the house with a list of suspects. The people in the square were led up to him one by one. He asked them a few questions and then they were led off into the house. They were probably beaten inside. The interrogators had no compunctions about beating people; they were very aggressive, very violent, very impulsive. Walking around the square I saw the wounded that the medics had treated earlier; the old woman, the 8-year-old, and his parents. They were sitting in a corner of the temple waiting for the Vietnamese Red Cross to arrive. The kid obviously had to be hospitalised but the army didn't want to allow the Red Cross into the village until it was through.

"All this took place about two hours after the medics had bandaged him up. I saw a few more of the people who had been treated there as well. There was one guy whose face was totally smashed; he was a mess. He was sitting there waiting but our commanders wouldn't even let us give him a blanket. I figured he must have been shot by one of the snipers from the other regiment. They had this kid from Minnesota who used to aim for the brain; I guess he missed and shot the poor guy through the mouth. Anyway, they wouldn't let us treat him, so we just stood threre in the square, waiting..."

## Smile for the Camera

"Some of our soldiers had a can of red spray paint. In every Vietnamese village there were pictures of Ho Chi Mhin. They started spraying beards and moustaches on the posters. Then they started laughing at the guy whose face had been smashed. One of them wrote 'USA' on the wall and drew the Marines' emblem beside it. He wrote out the name of his regiment and dated it — 'February '71'. Then they started taking pictures of each other in front of the wall, right beside the wounded man.

"After a while we got into our jeeps and left. Then the Vietnamese Red Cross, which had been waiting outside all the while, entered the village. As we drove out, we saw a lot of women and children standing in front of their homes weeping and wailing. I figured they must be crying because we had just killed their husbands or fathers, or taken them prisoners. We demolished a lot of homes in Shon Lon, we wrecked a lot of carts and destroyed a lot of agricultural equipment. Actually the whole place looked as though it had been destroyed.

"The whole operation was ugly. We talked about it a lot afterwards. Some of the guys were all for hitting the Viet Cong any and every way we could. But in such a situation it's hard to know who is a member of the Viet Cong and who isn't. We entered Shon Lon and shot anyone who tried to escape.

"There were also a lot of soldiers who disapproved of the whole operation, especially the way the interrogators beat the prisoners. The interrogators themselves told us that within a week all the arms we had carted off would find their way back to the Viet Cong. They told us that 34 Viet Cong had been killed and that that was good. But who did we kill? They said 34 Viet Cong but I doubt that that's true. They reported seven Viet Cong wounded. But who were the wounded? An old woman, an eight-year-old boy? Some time later I read a news report about the operation and, needless to say, they didn't mention anything about that.

## Indestructible Enemy

"When we pulled out of Shon Lon the village was in flames. We destroyed peoples' lives and I don't know if we succeeded in preventing any of our soldiers from being killed by the Viet Cong. What's certain is that we destroyed Shon Lon. The kid I was talking about before is probably an adult now, and you can bet your life that he's as anti-American as he could possibly be. But what do you expect — he got shot when he was eight-years-old. Anybody who experiences something like that can't help hating the United States for the rest of their life. The only ones who were pleased with the whole operation were the interrogators: it provided them with an outlet for their sadism...

"We left the village in a convoy. We weren't worried about being attacked; all we cared about was avoiding road mines and getting to Saigon for our furlough. That same day two American soldiers were killed in a nearby village. The killing just went on and on. The army clamped down on the population but it didn't really help any. The only thing that helped was when we got out of Vietnam. The whole war was insane from start to finish.

"I later heard that our RC caught a lot of flack from some of the other officers. They thought his methods were too brutal. But there were a lot of guys who used to boast about how many Viet Cong they had killed, even though when you shoot at people who are running away you don't have the slightest idea if they're Viet Cong or not. Of course, I'm sure the snipers killed a lot of people. I later heard that one of the guys in our regiment — a farm boy from the south — had gone into shock during the operation. But most of the soldiers got used to it; it became a routine..."

Johnny stopped talking and stared into his beer mug.

I didn't say a word; I was thinking about Lebanon. (Translation: Al Hamishmar March 22, 1985). ■

Interview with Denis Goldberg

# 'A Little Star in the Galaxy of South African Protest'

by Joost Hiltermann

*"You were condemned to life imprisonment!" we ask the man facing us. "Four times," he says, and he adds — smiling: "But don't worry, they run at the same time!"*

After 22 years in a South African jail, Denis Goldberg has not lost his sense of humour. Released less than a month ago, he appears healthy, cheerful, and strong — a living reminder to jailers the world over that imprisonment is not a deterrent to dissent but rather strengthens the very convictions it seeks to destroy. He also seems quite tickled to be interviewed. And in fact, during the three weeks that he stayed in Israel, he did not exactly shun the limelight.

Goldberg enjoys speaking with journalists, he says, "because it forces him to "readdress fundamental questions" concerning the liberation movement in South Africa, whereas in jail he only discussed details with his friends. But this is only a by-product. The main reason for his recent spate of interviews with major American and Israeli news media networks is his continued commitment to the struggle against the South African regime.

Today he feels that he can be more politically effective outside the prison because of the role he played inside for the last 22 years as a symbol of the continuing struggle against *apartheid* — a role that came to a sudden end when he was released February 28. But he does not like to overplay the importance of his prison experience to the resistance struggle, being one of the few white members of the main movement opposed to the white racist regime in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC). "Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned ANC leader, is the sun of symbols," Goldberg asserts. "I am just a little star on the edge of the galaxy."

Although Goldberg, who is Jewish, has explicitly stated that he "is not a Zionist and never will be," he refused to discuss any parallels between Israel and South Africa during his short stay in Israel. (On March 19 he travelled to London to join his comrades in the South African exile community there.)

His refusal was based on two reasons. First, he felt that he had not been in Israel long enough to be able to make a fair judgement on internal Israeli politics. And secondly, he pointed at the dangers of making such comparisons: "There are superficial similarities," he said. "They do not help in understanding either the situation in South Africa or the situation in Israel and the Middle East. Why? Because the differences are more important."

Nonetheless, Goldberg's short stay in Israel was marked by repeated attacks in the press for his position on armed struggle in a war for liberation. He claims that an article in the Israeli paper *Koterit Rashit* printed statements of his on South Africa out of context and consistently translated "armed resistance" into the Hebrew word for "terrorism."

What follows are excerpts from an interview with Denis Goldberg held in his temporary residence in Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch near the Lebanon border on March 17. The interview focused on Goldberg's views on *apartheid* in South Africa, on the role of violent struggle in the anti-*apartheid* movement, on the position of whites in this movement, and on additional forms of resistance against, and pressures upon, the white supremacist regime.

## ON APARTHEID
### First Awareness

*Goldberg first began to formulate his opposition to* apartheid *during his years as an engineering student at a white Afrikaaner university.*

"I found nothing in the discussions with my fellow students that gave me an explanation of why South Africa was like it was and is. Their argument was always reduced to: 'Well you see, there are blacks and there are whites, and there are more blacks than there are whites. So there is going to be one group ruling the other, so it might as well be whites.' But they were never able to explain why black and white had any significance!

**'The Israelis have the same policies as we have. And they are the chosen people.'**

"... By the time I entered the university, I had come to the conclusion that one has to understand the roots of oppression and why it took the form of white and black... So I got politically active in a multi-racial youth organisation called the 'Modern Youth Society'... and started to know that there needn't be a significance between black, white, 'coloured' — 'coloured' always in quotes please — and Indian."

### The Roots of Apartheid

"And of course, through this organisation and my political background I began to have a deeper understanding of what *apartheid* was about. Now there is a tendency to blame Afrikaaners and the Afrikaaner Nationalist government for *apartheid*. But one must see the roots of *apartheid* in segregation — which was based partly on law, partly on social practice — as stemming right from the beginnings of industrialisation in South Africa: the diamond mines near Kimberly in the 1860s and the goldfields of the Witwatersrand in 1896, where the demand for cheap labour required a social differentiation, which became enshrined in law... So *apartheid* is not just a recent invention. It is built into the very economy of the country. It was intensified after 1948 when the Afrikaaner National Party became the government."

### Pass Laws

*The pivot of* apartheid *are the pass laws, which restrict the African population's freedom of movement.*

"There was a strike of municipal workers in Johannesburg in the 1920s, and there was a commission of inquiry. There is one marvellous bit of evidence where a black worker is testifying to the commission, and the commission asks him: 'Why, if you want higher wages, do you campaign against the pass laws?' And you can just imagine a grizzled old worker standing there and saying: 'Because passes mean money. If your labour is controlled, you are not free to work where you can earn the best!' And that's what it is all about. It does not take a theoretician to understand it, it takes a man who lives it to see it...

"So the pass laws are absolutely crucial... There are at least a thousand arrests a day around the country... The daily average prison population in South Africa is 107,000. The daily average in the United States is 425,000. But, you see, the population of the US is about 232 million, and the population of South Africa is about 32 million. And if you take the proportions — say the US population is roughly seven times that of South Africa — the prison population is only four times. The difference is accounted for by the pass arrests."

## ON VIOLENCE
### Armed Struggle

*The pass laws became the focus of massive protest actions by South African blacks against the* apartheid *regime. And although the anti-pass campaigns were peaceful in nature, they were increasingly met with full armed force by the state, especially in the early 1960s. The shootings of Sharpeville stand out. The African population was more and more coerced into not participating in strikes and stay-aways as a result of brute police force.*

"And then the thought finally emerged that armed struggle was the only solution. The 'Spear of the Nation' was formed [as the military arm of the ANC] and it commenced its first action on December 16, 1961... Bombs were set to go off at symbolic targets, targets symbolising the oppression of black people, and specifically pass offices. At the same time a manifesto was put out stating that these targets *were* symbolic."

*Goldberg is adamant on the exact role of violence in a resistance struggle*

"The 'Spear of the Nation' took a very firm stand against terrorism, [which it defined as] an act designed to terrorise people indiscriminately. It took a stand not to kill people just passing by... The ANC has never put a bomb in a bus, or in an airplane, or in a suitcase. That would be terrorism, and personally I'm opposed to that sort of action... There is a just war for liberation going on in South Africa. It is a sad fact that people *do* get killed. But if there is a moral responability, it is that of the government of South Africa."

I am not a Jewish engineer and I am not a Jewish political activist...
Denis Goldberg

### State Terrorism

"I am not a pacifist. The violence of a people fighting for its freedom is legitimate. But the violence of a state that has violence built into it to oppress people is not legitimate. And that state is not legitimate... I find it not acceptable that the terror and terrorism of the government against the people of South Africa is not questioned. And they are terrorising people every day."

*And referring to the Sharpeville massacres in 1960,*

"If you want to talk about the morality of violence, there is no doubt about the *im*morality of the police action then."

## ON WHITES AND JEWS IN SOUTH AFRICA
### The Role of Whites in General

*Being both white and Jewish, Denis Goldberg has always played a very particular role in the essentially black struggle for liberation in South Africa.*

"Every white person in South Africa benefits from the system of oppression... Not all whites are equally guilty of oppression, but it is a problem of conscience for all whites in South Africa: how much they are going to oppose the regime, and how much they are going to live their normal white South African lives."

*Goldberg's personal decision on this matter is significant for what it meant to him and his family.*

"I lived as a privileged white South African. Either you can live with that decision or you can't. I could not. It was not only my wife and children who would suffer. They weren't the only thing to be taken into account. There were millions of black women and children whose husbands were never with them because they worked as migrant labourers. They couldn't have a family life. And so one weighs one's convictions as a human being about human beings in general against the particulars of one's own family. I felt it was important to be involved, painful as that might have been for my family, as in fact it turned out to be. I don't feel unique in this or tremendously courageous or specially moral. So many other people have done these things. I think that is what makes us human. You care for more than just yourself and your own needs — your friends, family... especially family, of course. One has a vision of what life should be and seeks to attain it. Or to live with a very bad conscience, and that's corrosive.

"In South Africa, with a white regime, it was important that whites be prepared to put their lives on the line, as black people had to do. I don't know whether I am being fanciful or not, but I think people like me are a little bit of an insurance policy for white people in general. And the more of us there would be the stronger that policy would be for whites in general."

*On the subject of consumer boycotts and the impact these would have on the white population in South Africa, Goldberg said:*

"It is important that the very elements in white society who are disillusioned with government policies should have it brought home to them that it is not just their consciences that are at stake but that it is their cash money also that is at stake. They still benefit from the *apartheid* system and they are going to pay a price for their benefits. You can't be moral on Sunday when you go to church and be immoral from Monday to Saturday when you're making money... I believe that whites must pay the price for living as free people in South Africa, not in terms of pain, suffering, death, but by making themselves *real* South Africans who fully acknowledge the rights of others and have their rights acknowledged in turn."

*And after the* apartheid *regime is overthrown, what will happen to the white population.*

"They would still have the privileges which go with the long tradition of education. They will be paid: they have the skills. Who is going to kick them out? There is no talk of that! The talk of it comes from the whites and their fears, not from blacks!"

### The Role of Jews in Particular

*During World War II, many members of the Jewish community in South Africa were active politically.*

"This was the first generation of stateless Jews in South Africa. They had been involved in the struggles against oppression, against the *pogroms* and what have you, in eastern Europe, and in the trade union movement. So they had been heavily politicised. When they came to South Africa, they did the same thing... Now there was always a question of whether their children — my generation — would become politically active on the left or not. Some did and some didn't. And within the family, some of the children would and some wouldn't... But you know, I'm *not* a Jewish engineer and I'm *not* a Jewish political activist...

"I think the awareness [of being Jewish] and of the number of Jews who were involved in the left movement was something that impinged on me from the outside. Particularly in prison, where automatically it was assumed [by the prison staff] that if you were a Jew, you were a communist, and conversely if you were a communist, you had to be a Jew."

*And concerning the position of Jews vis-a-vis the* apartheid *regime.*

"What happened with the Jews in South Africa is that they are no longer artisans and small businessmen. They are now professionals... small businessmen but bigger, and solidly established. The crucial point being not their Jewishness but their white South Africanness. I don't think families could have gotten rich as quickly as they did in South Africa unless they had been in the kind of situation as in South Africa."

*And concerning the holocaust in relation to* apartheid.

"If anybody should know better about the consequences of racial, or cultural, or national oppression, it is the Jews, who almost to a person would speak of the holocaust as a dreadful thing. Which it was! But the holocaust is referred to as mostly being one involving six million people. And that is a terribly important figure, because they were Jews. But *fourteen million* people died in the holocaust [ie, including Gypsies, Serbs, homosexuals, etc]! And as human beings who have understood what the holocaust is, they should know better!

"In fact, the head of the prison in which I was staying at one time said to me: 'Why are you against the Afrikaaners and the Afrikaaner National Party government? *Your* people do it!' I said: 'Do what? What are my people?' He said: 'The *Israelis* have the same policies as we have. And they are the chosen people. Why shouldn't we do it?!' And when I said to him, 'The Jews lost six million people in the holocaust, they should know better,' he became a quivering mass of jelly who couldn't speak. He went white-faced. His pinko-grey complexion — as E M Forster would put it — went absolutely pale. That had turned his argument on him. And he had no answer. [laughting:] And to the extent that I'm quoting a captain in the prison service in South Africa, it is *his* comment on the internal political situation in Israel that I am quoting, *not* my own!"

## ON RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

*One of the important acts of solidarity with the people of South Africa in the Western world has taken the form of consumer boycotts and divestment in the South African economy. Isn't the effect of this that the people in South Africa suffer even more because of a plummeting economy?*

"I will quote Bishop Desmond Tutu, who won the Nobel Peace Prize. He said: 'I find it interesting that big business, white businessmen in South Africa, businessmen abroad, are suddenly concerned about the welfare of black people in South Africa. It is a very welcome sign, but why were they not concerned before? People have been starving and suffering for many years. Is it perhaps that they feel that their own interests are threatened?'

"What Bishop Tutu was saying is that black people suffer malnutrition and children die at a rate far above that of white children. People *are* starving and dying — whether or not police bullets or tear gas or rubber bullets are fired — through starvation and hunger. Don't just look at Soweto, look at the rural areas. The more quickly — Bishop Tutu was saying — that the present system is destroyed, the more quickly a better system can be built...

"Now it is very difficult to say to people, 'You must be prepared to starve.' The answer must come from the people themselves. I believe the political leadership knows what they prefer, and supports politically-based economic activity against South Africa... when people are ready to do what they will, they will hold general strikes in support of political action, in support of military action, all sorts of things. The workers in the eastern Cape — as I read in this morning's *Jerusalem Post* — were staying away from work for three days to protest. That doesn't help their level of nutrition, but they *do* it! They don't get paid for this time, but they do it. Who are we to say that they are wrong to be prepared to suffer!"

*And concerning the support given to the* apartheid *regime by western governments, including Israel:*

"I have [in previous interviews] criticised Israeli foreign relations with South Africa, especially in the military field. This is not limited to Israeli relations with South Africa, but those of any state with white South Africa. Breaking their own rules, they are directly involved in the oppression of 70 percent of the people in South Africa... The most modern technology — computers — is used to oppress the lives of black South Africans. Such technology should be used for the development of our country, not for the restriction of its people!"

*And on the alliance between white South Africans and these Western governments:*

"There is a beautiful quote from a book [by Eduardo Galeano] called 'Open Veins of Latin America' where the foreign minister of Guatemala over a century ago said: 'How can the cure for our situation come from the United States when the United States is the cause of the illness?' Now I am not saying that the United States is the cause of the illness in South Africa, but it certainly is not providing the cure by siding with the white regime to give it time! And when white South Africans take it upon themselves to decide what is fair or unfair to black people, while they rely on this protection, the illness in South Africa's political and economic system comes from white South Africans. For them to seek to prescribe the cure to the illness is — you know the word *hutzpa*?! — it's a bloody cheek! For them to claim the superior morality — they have no right at all!"

## ON HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON — AND BEYOND

*Goldberg was released from a South African jail February 28 after serving almost 22 years of a quadruple life sentence that he had received in 1964 as a result of his membership in and activities for the 'Spear of the Nation' movement. Did he renounce violence in order to leave prison?*

"I took a personal decision, which does not commit any organisation or any other person, to sign an undertaking which read — from memory: 'I, Denis Theodore Goldberg, undertake that I will not: (a) plan, instigate, or participate in acts of violence for the achievement of political ends; (b) that I will not make myself liable for arrest.' I stop...

"Of course I have feelings about having taken the way out while my comrades stay behind — my black comrades with whom I was sentenced and whom I have not seen all these years. I do have feelings about it. It's a feeling that i didn't achieve what I had envisaged for myself. I should have been able to stick it out to the end, and I didn't.

"Jane Powerly of NBC's 'Today Show' said to me, 'Don't you think you have achieved *more* for your cause in the last three or four days since you were released than in the whole of the 22 years sitting as a passive symbol in prison?' And you know, as soon as she asked this question, I suddenly realised, 'My God, she is right!'... All I have signed is — in my interpretation — that *I* will not participate in acts of violence. My reasons are quite simple... Way back in 1963, I was on the logistics committee of the national high command of the 'Spear of the Nation'. My task was to investigate whether it was viable to produce explosives and arms at all. The 'Spear of the Nation' need no longer rely on do-it-yourself equipment today. It is supplied with the most up-to-date weapons of war. Its men are tained by professional instructors. They don't need me for that. And reaching 52, I don't think that my function is to be a soldier in the field.

"My function I see as a political function — political as distinguished from military. I thought I would rather play a political role than a role which I cannot play... I was with three people in prison and they said to me: 'For God's sake, get out of prison; you've been here long enough! Go and live! You are committed as you were ever committed. Well go and do it!' And the final message was, as I left in my new civilian clothes: 'Hit the bastards harder!'...

"What to me is the most significant point is that white opinion generally, and certainly government opinion, has not yet reached the understanding that the central issue is political rights at the level of central government. And until that happens, there can be no peace in South Africa...

"The need is for whites to recognise that political rights for blacks are not only right and just, but that they have to be implemented. It is important for them to see this as a possibility before they can even think in terms of how to get there. That needs to be driven home to them. They must see the solution and then implement it, not oppose it... And because I am a white South African, my function is to try and work amongst whites — and I'm still doing it!!" ■

## *UNRWA Reports:*

# Gaza Camps Face More Demolitions

A Palestinian resident of Gaza prays outside his makeshift shelter of plastic sheeting and corrugated metal.

The following is an UNRWA press report:

Uncertainty about the future has always been an unpleasant reality of life for Palestine refugees. Now, dozens of refugee families in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip are experiencing added — and very real — uncertainty about where they will be living six months or a year from now.

Some of these families are awaiting decisions from the Israeli courts and military authorities which could force them to demolish their shelters and find alternative accommodation. Some have been offered land in government housing projects, on which they would have to pay to build their own houses; a condition of the offer is that the refugees have to undertake to demolish their shelters — many of which were built by UNRWA — before moving.

UNRWA, which provides education, health and relief services to about 350,000 registered Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip, has repeatedly appealed to the authorities not to demolish shelters before residents have secured alternative accommodation.

According to UNRWA statistics, more than 20,000 rooms housing over 9000 families and 55,000 persons have been demolished in the Gaza Strip since the Israeli occupation of June 1967. Most of these demolitions, affecting nearly 4000 families, were done to make way for the widening of roads — stated to be for security reasons in the Gaza camps. Some 3500 families, with more than 21,000 members, are listed as having "voluntarily" demolished their shelters. It is believed that some 34,000 refugees have moved into housing projects sponsored by the Israeli authorities, after demolishing their shelters, to date.

Other demolitions of shelters have been carried out in the Gaza Strip as punitive measures against individuals accused of contravening Israeli security regulations. Such demolitions, however, naturally affect the families of the individuals concerned. No such punitive demolitions have been reported in Gaza camps, however, since 1981.

### Living Space Decreases

One argument often given for the demolitions is that they make the camps less congested. However, according to UNRWA officials in Gaza, the net result is that the amount of usable space in the camps decreases as the population continues to increase, since new building is not permitted on the sites of demolished structures. The population of the Gaza Strip has grown from 380,000 in 1967 to almost half a million today.

The demolition cases now being considered are in the sprawling Jabalya refugee camp, at the northwestern corner of the Gaza Strip. The official number of registered refugees in the camp is about 50,000, although perhaps 42,000 actually live there.

Like the other seven Gaza Strip camps, Jabalya was established to shelter refugees, mostly from the southern parts of Palestine, who fled following the establishment of Israel in 1948.

One of the Israeli-sponsored housing schemes, Beit Lahiya, is situated next to Jabalya camp. Although individuals who choose to move there are allocated plots of land (average size: 125 square metres), the authorities often charge a fee for providing the infrastructure which, in practice, amounts to a charge for the land itself. In addition recipients must pay the cost of construction of houses.

With the current economic recession in Israel, where many Gaza residents have been employed in recent years, unemployment is rising in the Gaza Strip. Families are using up their savings just for daily survival. As a result, fewer and fewer refugee families possess the means to build new houses outside the camps.

Many families who have received demolition notices are, therefore, threatened with becoming homeless. In Beach camp (population 38,000), adjoining Gaza town, several families whose shelters were demolished in mid-1983 are still living virtually out in the open. These refugees inhabited some 35 shelters which were bulldozed by the authorities on the grounds that they had been built either without a permit or on land which lay outside the Beach camp borders.

A visit to one familiy of nine with no working wage-earner finds them squatting amid the salvaged remains of their former shelter with only a makeshift zinc roof over two of the rooms. "Yesterday when it rained, it rained on our heads," says one of the women.

### Claims Filed... But No Compensation

In demolition cases where the shelters were originally built in whole or in part by UNRWA or with assistance from UNRWA, the agency has filed claims with the Israeli authorities based on the current value of the structures. However, compensation has never been paid.

Disputes over the exact locations of camp boundaries have made it difficult for the refugees to challenge the demolition orders. The Gaza camps were first laid out when the Egyptian government administered the strip, and many of the benchmarks are no longer to be found.

In the case of Jabalya, for instance, UNRWA does not possess an exact map of the camp boundaries. The Israelis contend that the camp comprises only the areas which were built on before 1967, but the agency maintains that it has not built on all the land allocated to it by the previous Egyptian administration due to a lack of funds. UNRWA has no legal claim to the privately built shelters now threatened with demolition. The Israelis want to expand the Beit Lahiya housing project and are seeking additional land from Jabalya for that purpose. This could lead to more demolitions.

In one of the Gaza demolition cases pending before the Israeli High Court, a group of 35 Palestine refugee families last September secured a six-month extension of a temporary injunction against their eviction orders. The court ordered the authorities to use that time to negotiate fair compensation for the refugees.

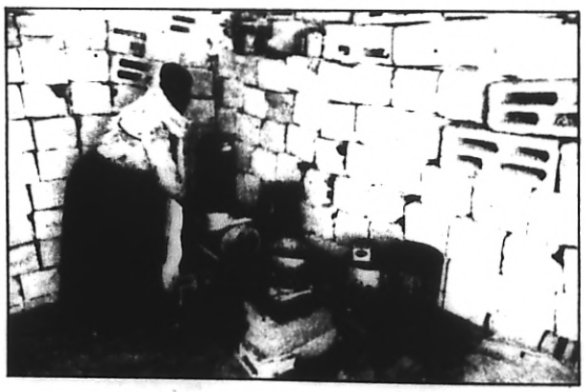
Residents of Jabalya camp who were subsequently ordered to demolish their shelters and move to Beit Lahiya obtained an order *nisi* from the High Court in December 1984 banning the demolitions until sufficient cause was shown. That order has since been lifted, but no demolitions have been carried out in that block. Meanwhile, threats have been made to demolish nearby citrus groves from which many of the same refugees earn their livelihood.

The most recent demolitions carried out in the Gaza Strip were in July 1984, when 10 private rooms and nine boundary walls were bulldozed in Jabalya, affecting 15 families with 85 persons: and in September 1984, when several rooms, sheds, trees, gardens, and hedges were bulldozed in Jabalya — while, at the same time, at least eight Jabalya families were warned that their shelters would be demolished. In these cases, the Israeli authorities contended that the shelters had been built without proper permits.

In such instances, the Israelis usually cite laws passed in 1960 by the Egyptian administration in the Gaza Strip, laws which prohibit private construction without permission from the authorities. In fighting the orders in court, lawyers for the refugees have argued that the failure of the Israeli authorities to act against the alleged contraventions before now constitutes the *de facto* granting of ownership rights to the residents. The petitioners also point to the 1907 Hague Convention requiring an occupying power to act in a manner consistent with the public welfare.

While remaining neutral in the question of ownership UNRWA has contended that the demolition warnings are not consistent with assurances which the agency has repeatedly been given that no refugee family would be forced to move into one of the housing projects involuntarily and that no family's shelter in the camps should be demolished.

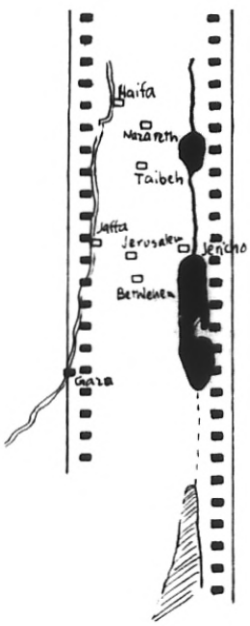
The refugees increasingly turn to UNRWA for help and support — particularly as economic conditions in the Gaza Strip deteriorate. One elderly man threatened with the loss of his shelter in Jabalya told a visiting UNRWA staff member: "Please don't let me find myself in a position where I feel obliged to take my family and go to squat in the UNRWA offices because we haven't any place to live." Another younger refugee, recently laid off from his electrician's job in Israel, simply shook his head and repeated over and over: "What will happen to us?" (UNRWA, March 1985)



A Gazan woman preparing a meal in her family's shelter of precariously stacked concrete blocks after the demolition of her home.

# Call of the Roots: Documenting the Arab Heritage in Palestine

by Said al-Ghazali




"Palestinian institutions at home and abroad must use the most modern and effective means — documentary films, cinema movies, and television programmes — to show the deep roots of Palestinian culture and character in the land of Palestine," explained film director Nazem Shreidi Jabarin. Jabarin, from Um al-Fahm, recently directed the first feature-length film to come out of the occupied territories. The film, entitled *Call of the Roots*, seeks to assert the Palestinian right to this land by presenting examples of their centuries-long history in Palestine.

Jabarin visited many significant sites, including the towns of Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Taibeh, Gaza, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, where he filmed the remains of mosques, churches, inns, walls, quarters, cemeteries, harbours, and citadels. Each site is provided with a commentary on its cultural and historical significance. The film director attempts to show the aesthetic beauty of Palestine

The use of scene photography and the running commentary written by Fathi Fourani, Islamic Committee Head in Haifa, illustrates Jabarin's theme that there is a people of Palestine who have lived here for centuries and have a fully developed civilisation.

I want to prove and document facts showing the right of the Palestinians to their land," Jabarin said.

*Call of the Roots*, which was in production six months at a cost of US$30,000 is an admirable attempt at presenting this land from a Palestinian perspective. The film, which was produced by the Heritage Revival Centre in Taibeh, begins with scenes from Taibeh's heritage festival last year where folkloric pictures illuminating the social and cultural life of Palestinians were displayed. The film's narrator then introduces us to Acre, "which never fears the uproar of the sea." Acre, he explained, "is one of the oldest Palestinian cities whose roots go back 4000 years. Acre has kept its Arab character despite all the invaders."

> *Call of the Roots*, in its various themes attempts to show the strong Palestinian heritage.

We see the historic harbour of Acre with Palestinian fishermen and the Capri Canal built by Suleiman Pasha to bring water to the city from the springs in the north. The Alumran and Jaljulia Inns are shown to give us an idea about the once vibrant commercial activities in Acre. Al-Jazzar Mosque, built in 1781, is still a historical monument of everlasting beauty, colour, and Islamic Arabesque design. The old walls and the cannons fixed upon them give the impression of Acre warding off its invaders. The old Acre prison, which is now a museum, revives memories of the three Palestinians — Mohammed Jamjoum, Fuad Hijazi, and Ata al-Zir — who resisted the British and were hanged in the prison in 1929.

In Haifa we again see a harbour and sailing ships

The remains of Wadi Salib (Valley of the Cross) are shown with deserted houses, mosques, and churches, the al-Pasha bath, and the Hanatir square, all of which bear testimony to the Arab character of Haifa. We see the ruins of al-Istiqlal cemetery,

the al-Nasr Mosque, which has become a centre of underground activity, hashish, and prostitution; and the Iz al-Din al-Qassem cemetery,

In Jaffa, whose ancient harbour was the largest and most active in Palestine, we see the old city, once an active scientific and cultural centre in Palestine. There is the big clock and the fountain; the mosques-turned-restaurants, nightclubs and bars; the walls of the great mosque — now a billboard advertising Coca Cola; and the Saksak Mosque — now a Bulgarian nightclub. Next the camera focuses on Tasu cemetery, where tombs have been desecrated with TNT (Terror Against Terror) slogans, the Nazi *swastika*, and, on one, the ominous words: "This is only the beginning." In Sidna Ali cemetery, north of Jaffa, we see neglected graves and the deserted remains of a mosque built in the name of Ali Ben Ali, the great grandson of Omar Ben Khatab, the second Islamic Caliph. Ali was a great warrior against the Crusaders who was killed in 1031. Then there is the Hassan Bek Mosque, whose *minaret* was destroyed in April 1983, and al-Ajami quarter (or ghetto) — now only inhabited by a few thousand Palestinians suffering from a housing crisis and general municipal neglect. What remains of the historic city of Jaffa reminds us that it was once a vibrant centre for Palestinian writers, artists, thinkers, politicians, and professionals.

The film then gives the viewer a taste of culture by showing Palestinian dancers at a traditional wedding ceremony. We then move quickly to Malha village situated a few kilometres from Deir Yassin,

The old olive oil press and mosque are still there in the village. We see camels and Naqab Beduin playing the flute. The stark desert under the hot sun gives way to Beer Sheba, the city of the great Islamic leader Amru Ben al-'As. On the streets of Beer Sheba, the people now converse in Hebrew; the mosque built 90 years ago by the Arab Beduin has been transformed into a museum and people can no longer pray there.

The Ras al-Ain and Shafa 'Amr citadels are the movie's next focus.

We move to Jericho, where the magnificent Hisham's Palace, built by Hisham Ben Abd al-Malek in 724 AD, is shown with baths, fountains, marble tiles, courtrooms, and Arabesque. After the palace we turn to the misery of Aqbat Jabr refugee camp, built in 1948 to house the thousands of homeless Palestinians in miserable clay huts and shacks.

The beautiful town of Bethlehem — the birthplace of Jesus — is shown as the site of the Church of the Nativity, its manger, and the cave of the Virgin Mary and her child. In Nazareth, we view the magnificent Church of the Annunciation and in Jerusalem we see Damascus Gate, the Via Dolorosa, peasant women selling fruit and vegetables, and Friday worshippers on their way to and from al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. The film narrator describes the Dome of the Rock as a "cultural pearl and an architectural wonder." The mosque is unique in its Islamic details, its Arabesque, and its stained glass. This particular Arabesque is a mixture of the Arabic-Islamic and Greco-Roman styles. The intricate design on the windows is clearly visible: sunlight streams through them, illuminating verses from the Quran written in calligraphy along the walls. There is also the Prophet's coffer and the mosque platform, with its pillars, courtyards, and fountains.

*Call of the Roots*, in its various themes, attempts to show the strong Palestinian heritage, the harassments aimed at annihilating the Palestinian presence in Palestine, their Islamic and Christian monuments, and the cultural revival currently happening among Palestinians. These several themes within one film make it nearly impossible to expand on any one particular issue at length. The film therefore left out some important sites that have been destroyed — like the Bab Maghārbeh quarter in Jerusalem, the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron which has been partially occupied by settlers, and many places in the Galilee and Triangle.

Unfortunately, the absence of unity in theme renders the film too general. It also skips over some potentially interesting scenes — like the filming of an exemplary Palestinian quarter that has been completely Judaised except for a few remaining architectural signs of an Arab presence. The narrator did speak about such a situation when he told us of the Ajami quarter inhabitants of 1948. "Where are the owners of these remains?" he asks.

The director merely photographed Naqab desert scenes with a motley crew of camels. To symbolise the tragedy of the Naqab, the legs of a camel are filmed in chains. ■

A sample of nationalist songs sung in *Call of the Roots:*

*From Acre jail, the funeral procession for*
*Mohammed Jamjoum and Fuad Hijazi began.*
*Punish them, O people, punish them,*
*The British commissioner and all his people.*
*Mohammed Jamjoum and Ata al-Zir*
*Are prisoners of utmost dignity.*
*You think about fate and destiny*
*And the oppressor's death sentence.*
*Hijazi says: "I will go first,*
*Lest I drink the agony of your execution."*
*Mohammed says: "I will be the first,*
*I do not fear execution and death."*

• • •

# WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The brutal attack on Jerusalem's Ibrahimiyeh College, the week-long curfew placed on the twin Ramallah and al-Bireh cities, and the continued shelling of Palestinian refugee camps in Sidon, Lebanon, were the main topics in the local press this week.

Palestinian newspapers carried photo and eyewitness reports of the Israeli army and police raid and break-in at the Jerusalem school. One-hundred and thirty-two students were arrested and at least seven students were injured and required hospitalisation.

The curfew imposed on Ramallah and al-Bireh continued to put major burdens on life-as-usual elsewhere as local universities and other educational institutes were disrupted by the absence of students and faculty. The lifting of the curfew after one week and the subsequent two-month closure of 23 shops received front-page coverage in all the local papers.

The Palestinian refugee camps of Mia Mia and Ain al-Hilweh in the Sidon area, which separatist Lebanese militias continued to attack, were also a focus of great concern.

## Confronting Conspiracy in Lebanon First

There is no denying the crystal-clear fact that there are some in Lebanon who are trying to set the hands of the clock back and revive the old dream of partitioning the country, a dream that was buried by the national movement when it cancelled the May 17 agreement.

Those trying to do that in Sidon and the nearby Palestinian camps are trying to repeat the Sabra and Shatila and Tel al-Za'tar massacres. They want to divide Lebanon and to perpetuate Israeli occupation of a vast area under the name of Ja'ja' together with Lahad.

This proves once more that the enemies of the Palestinian people are the enemies of the Lebanese people as well, and vice versa. What befalls Ain al-Hilweh and Mia Mia will befall the Lebanese villages and quarters. It also befalls the whole of Lebanon.

Therefore the rulers of Amman and Cairo, who claim solidarity with the Palestinian people, are uncovering the falsity of their claim by keeping silent over what is going on in the camps in Lebanon. They even oppose the forces that try to defend the camps. And they keep silent over the conspiracy of the forces that stand behind Ja'ja', foremost among them American imperialism, to which they are making concessions.

The test of the truthfulness of solidarity with the Palestinian people is by opposing these forces that pound the camps. Solidarity is by supporting the Lebanese National Movement in its struggle to abort the conspiracy to partition Lebanon. This cannot be achieved through creeping on the threshold of the White House.

AL TALI'A
April 4

## European Position on Palestine

The first and only time, it seems, when the EEC countries were able to take a clear political stand toward the Palestinian cause was in 1980 when these countries issued the "Venice Declaration" for a just solution in the area.

Though there were some European initiatives after this declaration, the European attitude ranged between vagueness and cautiously revolving around the American position, which is hostile to the Palestinian cause.

So the European countries were not able to develop their stand on the basis of the Venice Declaration. But they did not renege on it until their latest meeting in Brussels last Monday. The statement they issued did not refer to the Palestinian people and its national rights and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

This European retraction represents open submission to American pressures regarding the Middle East problems and American interests in the area. We expected the EEC countries to do just the opposite. But it seems that common interests between the US and Western Europe dictate the joint anti-Arab stand of the two sides.

It is natural that the lack of Arab solidarity is one reason for this US-European stand. So, will there be at least partial Arab solidarity? Or will Arab devisive alliances continue?

AL FAJR
April 5

## Facts of Peace in the Area

We believe that a just solution to the problem in the area is very easy to attain if the efforts to achieve the solution are not hindered by the obstacles created by the US and Israel. The negative role of both the US and Israel is indicated by their outright rejection of the idea of an international peace conference declared by the UN secretary-general.

The US wants to be alone in the area. Therefore it wants a feeble solution that guarantees its interests in the area. So it tries to keep the USSR away from the peace process. Israel — backed by this American attitude — wants to make use of the time factor to perpetuate its occupation of Arab land through the policy of *de facto*.

But the US and Israel will keep revolving in a vicious circle if they imagine they can undo facts, foremost among them the impossibility of keeping the Soviet Union away from the peace process. The Soviet president wants to send an envoy to the area soon.

Any American-Israeli attempt to find a solution without the participation of the PLO is doomed to failure.

Urqhart's suggestion that the UN Security Council be a framework for the international conference is more evidence of the world attitude toward the necessity of such a conference for strong international guarantees of a just solution. Will the US and Israel keep turning a deaf ear to the international calls for peace?

AL FAJR
April 6

## Emergency Aid

The US is giving Israel incredible help. George Shultz recommended that US$1.5 billion be given to Israel as emergency aid. The Congressional Committee approved the recommendation at once.

The special relationship between the US and Israel continues. On the other side stands the relationship between Washington and its Arab "friends." When Mubarak humiliated himself and asked for help after proving that he is "an obedient and sincere friend," he could not get the aid he wanted. Washington realises the extent of its Arab friends' "popularity" but wants no more from them than full loyalty and subservience. The latest such example is Numeiri, who is visiting Washington now. The US is not ready to realise Sadat's dream of treating the Arabs on the same footing as Israel.

One of the major factors that encourages Washington to treat the Arab regimes arrogantly is that American dealings with them produce only submission.

Under these circumstances, anyone who expects a "positive" change in the American attitude is like someone expecting to catch fish in the Dead Sea, as Mohammed Milhem said once. The change won't happen unless the American Arab regimes are changed.

AL SHA'AB
April 6

## The Security Zone

There is now a political and military controversy over the extent of the "security zone" which the Israeli forces intend to set up in south Lebanon.

This means that there is a governmental consensus to continue to interfere in Lebanese affairs. The disagreement is only over the details of this zone. Israel seems intent on repeating the experiment of Sa'ad Haddad by strengthening Lahad's militias and the so-called National Guard.

This attitude comes at a time when there are increasing demands in Israel to speed up the withdrawal from Lebanon. But the Israeli unity government sees differently. It is encouraging Ja'ja' and it is offering cover for the aggression on Sidon and the Palestinian camps.

But we are certain that the Israeli plans in south Lebanon will end up in failure.

AL SHA'AB
April 8

## Where Does the Danger Life

During a meeting held two days ago in Tel Aviv, there was a consensus among attending Israeli parties, rightist movements, and settlers to reject the principal of Land for Peace. Some voices were raised demanding that not even an inch of the occupied Arab territories be relinquished.

Had the views of these parties and movements been representative of a minority of the Israeli public, they would not have been worthy of attention. But the fact is that they represent the views of nearly half of Israel's population. Or, more clearly, half of the ministers in the unity government support these views.

Meanwhile, other Israeli voices, some of which are in power, explicitly reject the Jordanian- Palestinian accord in an attempt to evade a just and peaceful solution of the Palestinian cause. So, the political picture in Israel becomes clearer. On the one hand, there is the Labour Party, which publicly asserts its desire for peace and pays lip service to peace proposals like the Egyptian president's initiative. It declares its willingness to "relinquish" occupied Arab land for peace but it does not have the legislative or even the executive power to put its statements into effect.

On the other hand, there is the Likud and its allies among the religious and rightist parties. They all stand as a barrier to the implementation of any peace initiative. They also do their utmost to divert the atention of Israeli — even international — public opinion from the just solution to the Palestinian cause.

It is strange that these Israeli parties opposing peace describe the initiatives as a "trap" or a "threat." To these parties we say there are two options: the peaceful option and the military one. And since thes.. parties reject the former, does this mean that they want the latter? Or do they mean that they prefer the *status quo*, the no-peace and no-war state? In this case, where does the danger lie?

AL QUDS
April 9

## Ibrahimiyeh

Continued from page 1

students, was released the following afternoon. While in the Moscobiyya, students and staff were kept awake in the compound courtyard. According to Hamed Qirrish, a Jerusalem electrician at Ibrahimiyeh on his weekly rounds who was arrested with the others, "The police made sure we were awake all night and interrogated us several times." Qirrish and several of the others who were released told *Al Fajr* they were beaten during interrogation.

Their claim was supported the next day when Israeli Knesset member Charlie Biton of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) visited a few of the detainees and sent letters to government officials claiming he saw signs of torture on students' bodies and that he noticed blood spots on the floors and walls of the detention cells. Police have so far refused to allow physicians to examine the detained students. The DFPE also demanded the government establish an inquiry committee to investigate the police raid on the college. The DFPE said they have reports that border police incited the students before the trouble began. *The Jerusalem Post* reported April 10 that four policemen have been charged by officers with beating detainees and will face disciplinary proceedings.

Reports in the Israeli media following the raid alleged that outside agitators were responsible for the demonstration. The alleged presence of such agitators thus legitimised the forced police entry into the school. Police claim these outsiders entered the school, cut telephone lines, and threatened the teachers and students. Police also claim several non-students from areas other than Jerusalem were arrested in the raid. This report was vehemently denied by student representatives at Ibrahimiyeh, who said that students alone held the demonstration in solidarity with the Asqalan prisoners and that Israeli media and police allegations are false. One Ibrahimiyeh student described the allegations as "part of a media blitz, similar to that used against other Palestinian institutions, to ruin its reputation."

One student presented *Al Fajr* with a list of 19 names and said these students are still being held by the police. The two others of the 21 were picked up in the street towards the end of the raid, said another student. He said the two had come to look for their relatives at the college. One eyewitness overheard a police officer ordering another to "get more of them if you can," meaning that he should round up non-students for later propaganda use.

College officials said they had not noticed any outsiders in the school before or during the raid. One teacher said, "What started to be a local protest turned into a bloody war and a police propaganda campaign against the school." Abu Gharbiyeh also denied that either he or the teachers were threatened by outsiders at any point during the day.

Abu Gharbiyeh believes the demonstration was only an excuse by police to destroy the school once and for all. Ibrahimiyeh had held several activities in the past in support of nationalist Palestinian causes. Abu Gharbiyeh had also been summoned to police headquaters late in February after the college sponsored a commemoration on the fortieth day after Fahd Qawasmeh's death. Police warned him then that he should halt such activities or face the consequences, Abu Gharbiyeh told *Al Fajr*.

Studies at Ibrahimiyeh will resume April 13 after the damage is repaired and the residual stench of tear gas has finally dissipated.

## Hospice

Continued from page 1

he was in office he would not close the hospital because local residents were so strongly attached to it.

Husseini charges that the Jerusalem municipality has played a negative role in the whole episode. "The municipality was behind the original request for closure and they worked behind the scenes to try and force the Austrian Church, who are the owners of the Hospice building, to demand that the building be returned," he said. A number of Israeli officials have visited the hospital in the past few months, which may be responsible for a substantial change in the official reasons for the closure. At first the excuse was financial. Now Israeli officials cite low medical standards at the hospital.

The Higher Islamic Council issued a statement April 8 calling on the Israeli authorities to keep the Hospice open. The statement said many constructive proposals have been advanced by local charitable institutes which would relieve the authorities of the financial burden. The statement also called for a united front to put an end to the campaign against the Hospice.

The Hospice Hospital has been in operation since 1948. The hospital contained 120 beds shortly before 1967 but has been reduced to 50 beds as a result of successive Israeli budget cuts. The Jordanian government had built another hospital to replace the Hospice in the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood, and the building was expected to be opened in October 1967. After the Israeli occupation in June 1967, however, the building was taken over and converted into a police headquarters.

SUB-
SCRIBE
TO
AL-
FAJR

LEARN ARABIC WITH ARABS IN JERUSALEM

The Arab Council for Public Affairs Announces

**An Intensive, Two-Month Arabic Course for foreign students**

July 1 – August 30

**The course will include:** day-long teaching workshops, boarding arrangements in furnished apartments and rooms, visits to Arab homes, tours of the country, and more.

For Further Information, write:

Arab Council for Public Affairs
Cultural Department
P.O. Box 19839, Jerusalem

One year after the death of our friend and colleague — Livia Rokach — we would like to remember her in a way we think she would have found most appropriate. In her honour and out of respect for her lifetime of struggle for the politically oppressed, and her particular concern for sisters-in-struggle, we announce the establishment March 30 of the

**Livia Rokach Memorial Fund for Women Political Prisoners**

under the sponsorship of:
MERIP – West Bank
Friends of Al Fajr English weekly and Derech HaNitzotz newspaper

Donations can be sent to:
Livia Rokach Memorial Fund
P.O.Box 13180
Jerusalem
and will be used to support women political prisoners during and after their detention in Israeli prisons.

## Land Day

*Continued from page 6*

in Sa'ir are about as extraordinary as Dr Doolittle visiting Africa. The *mukhtar* of the village, Ahmad Abd al-Nabi, was perched on his stool in the village cafe. Al-Nabi, like a lot of people around here, does a lot of talking about land, but is most comfortable playing cards at the local cafe.

"At first they said that they needed the land for military purposes. But they built a fence, established a settlement, and now don't let us enter," said the *mukhtar*. And that was all he was prepared to say. "You may be from the Shin Bet," [Israeli security service] he said. We quickly took out our press cards issued by the government press office. The *mukhtar* looked at us wryly. "You see, I was right. You're from the government."

### The Levinger of Sofar

At the settlement of Sofar no one was prepared to speak to us either. Even a CBS press card wouldn't have done us any good. As soon as they saw journalists approaching, the settlers ran home and locked the doors of their deluxe caravans. No one so much as peeped outside. We politely knocked on their doors but didn't get any response. If this is how they treat Israeli journalists, it doesn't take a lot of imagination to get a picture of how they relate to the Arabs from Sa'ir.

"Look at a map and you'll see how things stand!" Yosef — the local Levinger — shouted at us. He had the same neurotic gesticulations, the same wild beard, and the same hysterical tone of voice as the Hebron rabbi. "My name and political outlook are none of your concern," he said, chasing us off the premises.

**Q: "What do you think about Land Day?"**

**A: "It's all a load of nonsense. We don't talk to journalists. You journalists are living in the 19th century. My spiritual standing is 100 percent higher than yours. I don't even bother speaking to the likes of you. There are a few dozen kilometres between us."**

**Sa'ir is six kilometres down the road. Sofar was established on land expropriated from Sa'ir. The settlement looks like an American space centre.** Yosef, a new immigrant from the United States, kept at our heels, yelling: "Don't pester us. We're involved in realising a heavenly mission." Tomorrow, when the people of Sa'ir celebrate Land Day, the settlers in Sofar ought to celebrate the Day of Heaven.

Their neighbours down the road refer to them as astronauts. "They came from the United States and took our land. They don't even know how to speak Hebrew." The Sofar settlers are by and large American "freaks": they don't exactly fit into the landscape. Rather than work the land, they meditate on it day and night. It seems they're "born again" Jews who have no time to spare for mundane questions.

The 21st century is rapidly approaching. (Translation: Kol Ha'ir, March 29, 1985)

# WEEKLY REVIEW

Soldiers fired tear gas and used clubs against students of Ibrahimiyeh College in Jerusalem April 4 after a Palestinian flag appeared on the roof of the school./AO photo

**April 1, 1985**

### SETTLERS RAID JALAZON CAMP

JALAZON — Jewish settlers stormed several houses in Jalazon refugee camp outside Ramallah, rounded up the residents in the camp centre, and searched their homes. Israeli troops that arrived at the scene later helped the settlers.

**April 3, 1985**

### CRM PROTESTS CURFEW

The Citizens' Rights Movement sent a cable to Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, calling on him to lift the curfew imposed on Ramallah and al-Bireh following the killing of a Jewish settler in the local market in al-Bireh last Sunday. "The curfew is a collective punishment and a violation of basic human rights as well as an arbitrary hindrance of the residents' day-to-day life," the movement said in its cable.

### JABLAYA RESIDENTS SEND OUT S.O.S

JABALYA — Residents of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip issued the following statement, signed by hundreds of the camp's residents:

"We, residents of Jabalya camp, denounce the stepped-up repressive measures against us by the occupation authorities. Among these practices:

1) Opening fire at the child Adel al-Masri and other residents.

2) Seizing of the ID's of a large number of youths.

3) Continuing threats to demolish several houses in the camp.

We appeal to international public opinion and democratic forces to interfere (with the authorities) to halt these practices, which contravene basic human rights and international conventions."

### JAILED FOR OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

RAMALLAH — Unionist Issa Harb of Ramallah was sentenced by the local military court to two months in prison and a IS250,000 fine on charges of possessing a document on the Aden-Algiers accord.

**April 4, 1985**

### BZU STUDENTS RELEASED

BIR ZEIT — Israeli authorities released Majed Zaqut, Mohammed Khaled, Dhirgham Nufal, Mohammed al-Arouri, and Abd al-Salam al-Rimawi. They were among those arrested during the book fair at Bir Zeit University two months ago.

### YOUTHS FINED

JENIN — The Jenin military court fined Ata al-Razzi, from Jenin refugee camp, IS150,000 for violating military orders. The same court fined Ya'abad resident Khaled Abaid IS50,000 for possessing military boots.

### TOWN ARREST FOR KUFR KANNA STUDENT

KUFR KANNA — The Israeli commander of the northern area issued an order placing Technion student Omar Said, from Kufr Kanna, under town arrest. Omar is restricted to his house during the night.

**April 5, 1985**

### WOUNDED BOY STILL IN HOSPITAL

NABLUS — Sameh Shafiq al-Sha'ar from Nablus, who was wounded in a demonstration April 3, is being treated at the Women's Association Hospital in Nablus. Al-Sha'ar's condition has improved and his is now listed in stable condition. He was shot by Israeli soldiers in the Nablus demonstration.

### 60 ARAB WORKERS DISMISSED

The Israeli company Robenstein dismissed 60 Arab workers after almost 13 years of service. The workers hired a lawyer to defend their case.

### GAS STATION NEAR DHEISHEH CLOSED

BETHLEHEM — The Bethlehem military governor ordered the gas-station near Dheisheh refugee camp closed for three days. The decision was taken following an increase in the number of incidents involving petrol bombs thrown at passing Israeli vehicles.

### CAMP HOUSES RAIDED

RAMALLAH — Israeli forces raided a number of houses in Jalazon refugee camp in the Ramallah district. The soldiers were reported to have climbed over walls to wake up residents and ask for their identification papers. No reasons were given for this measure.

**April 7, 1985**

### SETTLERS STONED

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli settlers were lightly wounded when an Israeli Egged bus in which they were travelling was stoned as it was passing through Shu'fat, just north of Jerusalem. It said the two were taken to Hadassah Hospital for treatment while Israeli troops combed the area.

### ROUND-UP FOLLOWS STONES

RAMALLAH — An Israeli bus passing near al-Am'ari refugee camp outside Ramallah was pelted with stones. Israeli troops surrounded the camp for two hours, rounded up a number of youths and took them to the Ramallah police station.

### SUSPICIOUS OBJECT

AL-BIREH — A suspicious object found in front of the Israeli-controlled al-Bireh municipality was shot into by Israeli police sappers. Its contents were not reported.

### 2 GAZANS SENTENCED

GAZA — Riyad Hamed al-Bayuok of Gaza was sentenced by the local military court to one year in prison and one year suspended on charges of membership in the PLO. The court also sentenced Tal'at al-Hamaydeh to three months in prison, one year suspended, and a fine of IS1 million on charges of participating in a demonstration.

**April 8, 1985**

### ISRAELIS DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY WITH STUDENTS

JERUSALEM — Dozens of people demonstrated outside the Russian Compound police station in West Jerusalem to demand the immediate release of students who were arrested when Israeli troops raided al-Ibrahimiya College in Jerusalem. The demonstration was organised by the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, the Democratic Women's Movement, and the Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University.

The demonstrators brandished placards condemning Israeli practices against academic institutions in the occupied territories and calling for the immediate release of the detained students. Israeli police photographed the demonstrators and provoked them.

### COMMITTEE TO DEFEND DETAINEES FORMED

GAZA — The Lawyers' Bar in the Gaza Strip announced the formation of a committee to defend political detainees' rights.

### TRAVEL BAN

NABLUS — Residents of Balata refugee camp near Nablus and three other villages in the Jenin district have been banned from travelling to Jordan for the past month.

### BURIN YOUTHS DETAINED

NABLUS — An Israeli bus passing near the village of Burin in the Nablus district was stoned, but no one was hurt and there was no damage. Israeli troops sealed off the area, set up roadblocks at entrances to the village, and detained a number of youths for questioning.

Al-Nahda members from Taibeh lay a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier in Bab al-Asbat cemetery in Jerusalem on Martyr's Day, April 8./AO photo

**A demonstration, was held at the Moscobiyya detention centre in West Jerusalem in support of students detained by the Israeli soldiers in Ibrahimiyeh College./AO photo**

April 9, 1985

### WOMEN STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE

RAMALLAH — Female students from the Teacher's Training College in Ramallah demonstrated outside the college and threw stones at Israeli vehicles, Israel Radio reported. The radio said Israeli troops used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators by force.

In another development, female students at the al-Am'ari refugee camp school near Ramallah hurled stones at passing Israeli vehicles, wounding an Israeli passenger on an Egged bus and smashing one of the bus windows. Israel Radio said soldiers combed the area, but no arrests were reported.

### ISRAELI CARS STONED, TYRES BURNED

JERUSALEM — Israeli cars were pelted with stones as they passed Herod's Gate outside the Old City of Jerusalem. Israel Radio said seven Arab youths were detained by the police.

The radio said unidentified persons burned tyres and set up makeshift roadblocks on the road leading to Shu'fat refugee camp. Israeli forces rushed to the scene and launched a search for those responsible. HEBRON — In the village of Halhoul in the Hebron district, youths threw stones at an Israeli Egged bus carrying Jewish settlers. Israel Radio said some of the settlers alighted from the bus and chased the attackers. Israeli troops arrived at the scene and began an investigation.

### JERUSALEM MERCHANTS IMPRISONED FOR DEBT

JERUSALEM — An Israeli court sentenced two Arab merchants from Jerusalem to jail on charges of evading tax payment. The two, Umran Salhab and Iz al-Din al-Atari, were sentenced to four months in prison and one year suspended.

### RAFAH–WEST BANK TRAFFIC CUT

GAZA — For the second straight day, Israeli troops set up a number of checkpoints on roads leading from Rafah in the Gaza Strip to the West Bank.

### JENIN KIDS JAILED, FINED

NABLUS — Four students, aged 13 to 15, were sentenced by the Nablus military court to various prison terms and fines on security charges.

Mohammed Fawzi Ajawi was sentenced to three months in prison, three months suspended and a IS150,000 fine. Bahaa Farouk al-Ahmad was sentenced to two months in prison, two months suspended and a IS100,000 fine. Hilal Ghazawi was sentenced to two months in prison, three months suspended and a IS100,000 fine. Zakariyat Hassan Subh was sentenced to one month in prison, two months suspended and IS50,000 fine.

### COHEN DEMANDS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR PALESTINIAN PRISONERS

MK Geula Cohen of the right-wing Tehiya Party has called for imposing the death penalty on all Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli prisons in retaliation for the killing of an Israeli soldier last Saturday. The soldier's body was found in the Ramallah hills on Monday.

### J'LEM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CONDEMNS MERCHANTS' IMPRISONMENT

JERUSALEM — The Arab Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Jerusalem has condemned the imprisonment of two Arab merchants from Jerusalem for allegedly evading tax payment. The Chamber of Commerce sent a cable to this effect to the Israeli finance minister.

### TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

Residents of Ramallah and al-Bireh, forbidden by the Israelis to travel to Jordan via the bridges since April 1, are now re-allowed to do so.

### TULKARM UNIONIST JAILED

TULKARM — Unionist Mohammed Sharif Fathi Sharif was senteced by the Israeli military court in Nablus to three years in prison and three years suspended on security charges.

# Fara'a

*Continued from page 16*

told a military policeman not to allow me to go to the toilet or drink anything. I was thirsty because I had vomited and when I saw the military policeman put a glass of water down on a table, I took a drink. But I had to spit it out because they had put salt in it."

Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh told us about how he was forced to stand in the corridor with his face to the wall until six that evening. He was also subjected to a beating in his cell and later "exhibited" to other detainees and ordered to describe his 26-hour-long interrogation (in order to make them more willing to cooperate with their interrogators).

Both Nasser and his friend Ziad al-Lah'am, who is also from Dheisheh, told us they had been beaten with iron bars and wooden clubs. They described punishments like being locked in the toilets for hours at a time. After being taken to the prisoners' tents, they were subjected to punishments that entailed sitting on the ground with their hands behind their backs and their eyes fixed on the ground for hours at a time. Whoever did not stay in that position was beaten.

### Arrested by Mistake

Ziad al-Lah'am, aged 21, was arrested on February 8, 1985. He told us that during his interrogation, his interrogator kept pouring intermitent buckets of cold and hot water over his head while beating him. Another interrogator brought an iron bar into the room and began beating him with it. "One of my interrogators forced me to lie down on the floor, another grabbed hold of my hands, and a third hit me on my legs. Then he jumped off the table onto my back. They started spitting at me next. One of them came to my cell at night and kicked me in the stomach and testicles. I fainted and had to be taken to the doctor."

Ziad al-Lah'am told us that at a certain point, police investigators arrived on the scene and informed the prison officials that he had been arrested by mistake. The prison officers told him about the mistake and said they were sorry. "During my interrogation," said Ziad, "they tore up my pants in order to humiliate me and I had to leave the centre wearing a pair of pajama trousers." A merchant in the nearby refugee camp — also called Fara'a — gave Ziad a pair of pants.

After hearing Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh and Ziad al-Lah'am's accounts, the third youth who had come with them, Nasser Atallah, aged 18, from Dheisheh, decided to forego giving his account because the details were similar to the accounts we had just heard. We asked the military authorities for a response and within hours, a visit to Fara'a detention centre was arranged.

### The View from Fara'a

Fara'a detention centre is located in a pretty valley about a quarter of an hour's drive from Nablus. The prison itself is spic-and-span. We visited prison cells, interrogation rooms, and prisoners' tents. We asked the prisoners in some of the cells about how they had been treated and most of them replied that they had been treated well. However, a few — two or three in every cell of twenty — said they had been beaten and gave us the names of their interrogators. Where were you hit? we asked them. They pointed to their legs, stomachs, and hands.

We also spoke to three prisoners who had just emerged from the interrogation rooms after being forced to stand facing the wall without moving for two hours. At first they said they had been treated well, but an hour later the three of them said that at the beginning of their interrogation, their interrogators had put wooden slats between their fingers and pressed their fingers together. One of them hesitantly showed us his fingers: they appeared to be swollen. The three of them were from Nablus, in their middle teens.

We asked them what they had been charged with and they said with throwing stones beside the Haj Ma'azoz School in Nablus. And did you really throw stones? we asked. They smiled in embarrassment. One of the youngsters in another tent told us that the interrogators had recently been employing a new method: they put a wooden rod under your armpits, he said, and then pull your hands behind your back.

"You ought to realise," one of the officers at the detention centre told us, "that usually, after confessing or squealing on their friends in the course of their interrogation, they claim they were beaten or tortured to justify their failure under pressure in the interrogation room. We've had tens and even hundreds of such cases in the past."

A top security officer told us during our visit to the centre that interrogators were strictly forbidden to use violence. There were complaints in the past, he said, and all of them were investigated. There were a few cases in which the complaints turned out to have been justified and the interrogators involved were punished, either by demotion or dismissal. As regards this case, he said, there will be a thorough investigation and if the complaints are substantiated, the interrogator or interrogators involved will be brought to trial and punished according to law.

After a preliminary investigation had gotten under way, we were told that although some of the details given by the ex-prisoners were not exact, a comprehensive investigation had been launched into the matter.

I was impressed by their approach to the issue. It seemed that rather than trying to whitewash the whole thing, they were anxious to find out whether there was any truth in the complaints, and if so, to root out such practices. But now, a few hours later, if asked what made the deepest impression upon me, I'd have to answer that it wasn't prisoner No. 701 Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh or the prison officials but the frightened look in the eyes of the three 15- and 16-year-olds we spoke to. They stared at their laceless running shoes, stealing glances at the officers standing a few metres away, and now and then looking at the three journalists and trying to decide whether or not to answer their questions.

It was the frightened look of adolescent boys who one or two years ago had been children, born into the Israeli occupation, and for whom a stay at Fara'a was something of a badge of honour upon release among their high school friends. Spending 18 days at Fara'a is one more lesson in the methods of violent resistance.

The other lasting impression from my visit was the embarrassed look of the military personnel I spoke with. When presented with the complaints, they appeared visibly uncomfortable, as if they knew there might be some truth to the ex-prisoners' stories after all. (Translation: HaAretz, March 22, 1985).

# Fara'a Prisoner No. 701

Fara'a detention centre.

Your first impulse is to adopt an even-handed approach; you await the Israeli army spokesperson's refutation of the allegations. After almost 18 years of Israeli rule in the occupied territories, you come to feel that you've been surfeited by information and depositions about the beatings and brutal treatment meted out to Palestinian prisoners and detainees in Israeli prisons. And yet, for all that, after hearing a couple of ex-prisoners describe what they underwent in the Fara'a detention centre, something registered. The two other Israeli journalists I was with felt the same way: on the way home we hardly exchanged a word. We could not shake off the feeling that there was some truth in the accounts we had heard, that something of the sort described to us could have taken place. All the denials in the world — all the allegations that ex-prisoners' accounts were exaggerated, distorted, or totally baseless; all the rationalisations that ex-prisoners' accounts were orchestrated by the PLO in a propaganda campaign to undermine the military authorities' credibility in the occupied territoires — could not rid us of our suspicions.

Even after visiting the detention centre and being given the "freedom of the prison," so to speak — "We have nothing to hide," said prison officials — we could not shake off our feeling that, although it wasn't all black and white and ran the gamut of greys, at least some of the detainees had been maltreated by at least two or three interrogators.

Perhaps I ought to begin at the end of the story. After a preliminary investigation carried out at the centre, a top Israeli army officer decided to turn the matter over to the military prosecutor and the military police. An investigation into the allegations of maltreatment of detainees at the Fara'a detention centre has been launched in spite of the fact that at least some of the ex-prisoners' accounts did not jive with the records or statements of their interrogators.

## Harassment Centre

Before presenting the prisoners' accounts, it's worth pointing out that we're dealing here with a special kind of prison population: all of the prisoners in Fara'a are young men between the ages of 14-24 charged with throwing stones or Molotov cocktails, organising demonstrations, or "disturbing the peace" in West Bank villages and cities. Opened in 1982, the Fara'a detention centre was specifically established to deal with offenders sentenced to short terms in prison. However, since the beginning of last year, it has principally been used as an interrogation centre and lock-up for young offenders. Usually, there are about 200 detainees in the centre at one time; however, during periods of unrest on the West Bank, the number of inmates has climbed as high as 400. Fara'a is the only penal institution directly operated by the military government; all other prisons in the occupied territories operate under the supervision of the military police.

The interrogators at the prison are all from the standing army. They are given special training for working in the occupied territories. Generally, they are not known by their real names but rather by the Arabic pseudonyms they use while interrogating prisoners. A top army figure told me that since Fara'a began to operate as an interrogation centre, the interrogators have been successful in bringing between 60-70 percent of the detainees to court. It is also worth mentioning that over the past few months various groups — both Jewish and Arab — have been conducting a public campaign in protest of the brutal methods of interrogation employed at the centre. Israeli army spokespersons usually deny all allegations of maltreatment, but a few months ago a couple of interrogators were accused of maltreating prisoners and brought to trial; the court found them not guilty, but there have been cases in the past which have ended in convictions.

Two weeks ago while in Ramallah, I met a young resident of Dheisheh refugee camp who had just been released from Fara'a. He told me that although he himself had not been maltreated by his interrogators, some of his friends had been beaten and "you ought to hear what they have to say." On Tuesday March 19, together with two other Israeli journalists, I met with three youths who claimed they had been maltreated. The meeting took place in Ramallah. Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh, 22, a resident of Dheisheh, did most of the talking. He was arrested Janaury 26 together with a number of other youths from the camp who, like him, are identified with the [nationalist] left. Their arrest came in the wake of violent clashes between leftists and supporters of the "Muslim Brotherhood" — who, according to the leftists, are actually a group of ex-criminals and thugs who have been set loose on the leftists by the Village League. Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh was detained for 18 days, during which time his detention was extended for another 20 days by a military judge in Nablus. He was later released after a total of 38 days in the Fara'a detention centre.

It wasn't the first time Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh had been arrested. He had been held in Fara'a before and had also served time in jails in Jerusalem and Hebron after he was found guilty of aiding the PLO (in 1980-81). When he described what he underwent at Fara'a, he was so objective that I almost had the feeling he was talking about someone else. What follows is part of his account.

## The Story of Prisoner 701

"Our first night was spent in the Bethlehem jail and we were only brought to Fara'a the next morning. We arrived there at 11:30 am. After a medical check-up, during which we were forced to strip, three military policemen took us out to the corridor where the interrogation cells are and stood us against the wall, with our faces to the wall. I was given prisoner number 701. We stood there, with our faces to the wall and our hands behind our backs, for a few hours. And then I was brought into the interrogation room.

"There were three interrogators there; each one had his own special method. One of them took down my particulars. When he was done, the second interrogator subjected me to a series of physical tortures. He told me to stand up and began slapping me on my neck. The beatings lasted for four hours. He grabbed me by the hair and beat my head against the wall and punched me in the stomach.

"The other two interrogators left the room and I asked why I was being held in prison. He replied: 'Don't ask questions. That's our job. Your job is to give us answers.' He hit me and said I had been involved in the disturbances at Dheisheh. He didn't really ask me anything specific and I felt that all he wanted to do was beat me.

"After four hours he went out and another interrogator came in. He ordered me to take off all my clothes and then he began beating me. He punched me in the stomach so hard that I began to vomit. He pulled me by my hair, telling me not to vomit on the floor but rather on my clothes. They were lying in the corner of the room. Afterwards he beat me in the region of my genitals, my hands, and my legs.

"I lay down on the floor and he stomped on me with his army boots. He then ordered me to stand up and began hitting me about the neck. He gave me a few more punches in the chest and I threw up again and lost consciousness. The interrogation lasted for two-and-a-half or three hours. Then I was brought something to eat. I could tell that it was getting dark outside and that night was coming on.

"When they brought me a bite to eat my interrogator left the room and I began getting dressed. But I couldn't put on my shirt or jacket because they were covered with vomit. So I only put on my underwear, pants, and T-shirt. Also, when the interrogator asked me if I had been involved in the fight at Dheisheh I replied in the negative."

Nasser Abu Ajamiyeh went on to describe the rest of his interrogation and the type of questions put to him, eg: "Tell me about the 'Muslim Brotherhood.' What do you know about the Communist Party? Ever heard of (MK Abd al-Wahab) Darwasheh?"

"I told my interrogator I didn't know what he wanted from me. I said I didn't have any political views, only social ones; I said I was against oppression and exploitation. At that point he got angry and told me to stand up. He then began hitting me on the neck. It hurt so much that I couldn't speak; my voice just gave out. The beating went on until midnight: I was punched, slapped, and had my head knocked against the wall and floor."

## "Kiss My Shoe"

"Then the third interrogator came back into the room and the second interrogator left. The new one said to me, 'We take shifts all the time, but you seem to remain wide awake.' Then he ordered me to kiss his shoes in order to humiliate me. I refused and he punched me, at which point I fainted again. He put his shoe up to me face and taking hold of my hair knocked my head against his shoe. We stopped talking about politics and began arguing about my kissing his shoes. I told him that he could force me to kiss his shoe but that I wouldn't do so of my own free will.

"It was hard to withstand his provocations. I didn't understand what I was being charged with. Then he ordered me to start walking around the room. That went on for half-an-hour. Then he began knocking my head against the wall again. When I collapsed on the floor he told me to get up. My friend Nasser Atallah was in the corridor and the interrogator wanted him to hear my screams in order to frighten him.

"I was with him till six in the morning at which point the interrogation ended. I was made to stand with my face to the wall in the corridor and he

*Continued on page 15*